

PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS

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The *Fasti* of Ovid



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PUBLII OVIDII NASONIS FASTORUM LIBRI SEX

The Fasti of Ovid

EDITED WITH A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

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COMMENTARY ON BOOKS V. AND VI



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BOOK V

THE MONTH OF MAY

V. 1. You ask whence I suppose the name of the month of May to be derived.—The name of May (*Maius*) is said to have been given to the month in many cities of Latium before the foundation of Rome,¹ but the ancients were by no means agreed as to the derivation of the word. A long list of discrepant opinions, with the names of their respective advocates, is given by Macrobius.² The most popular derivations were from *maior*, “greater”, “elder”, and from *Maia*, the name of a goddess. Varro accepted the former derivation.³ Ovid proposes and discusses three derivations, first, from *maiestas* (lines 11-54), second, from *maior* (lines 55-78), and third, from the goddess *Maia* (lines 79-106). If we must choose between these etymologies, the most probable seems to be that which derives the name of the month from the name of an old goddess *Maia*, not indeed the Greek *Maia*, daughter of Atlas and mother of *Hermes*, as Ovid and other ancient writers supposed, but a genuine old Latin goddess of the same name, who was mentioned as the partner of *Vulcan* in the prayers of the Roman ritual, as recorded in the books of the priests of the Roman people and in many ancient litanies.⁴ To her a sacrifice was offered by the *flamen* of *Vulcan* (*flamen Vulcanalis*) on the first of May;⁵ it would therefore be perfectly reasonable and natural that the month should be named after her. This explanation of the name was accepted by the antiquary *Cincius* in his book on the Roman calendar: according to him, *Maia* was the wife of *Vulcan*; but according to *Piso*, the wife of

¹ Festus, s.v. “*Maius mensis*”, p. 120 ed. Lindsay.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16-29.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

⁴ Aulus Gellius, xiii. 23. 1 sq.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 18.

Vulcan was Maestas.¹ The victim sacrificed to Maia was a pregnant sow; hence some people identified her with the Earth, because that was the proper victim to be offered to the Earth-goddess.² That sacrifices were offered to Maia at the Circus Maximus on the fifteenth of May is recorded in the calendar of Caeres,³ and it may be to this sacrifice that Macrobius refers when he speaks of the divine service celebrated in her honour in the month of May.⁴

In this passage it is to be observed that our author employs the plural form *nomina*, "names", though he means "name" (*nomen*) in the singular. This is only a particular case of a poetical licence which Ovid often allows himself; he never hesitates to use the plural of a neuter noun in the singular sense whenever it suits the metre to do so. Thus, as in the present case, he uses *nomina*, "names", for *nomen*, "name";⁵ or again *templa*, "temples", for *templum*, "temple";⁶ or again *delubra*, "shrines", for *delubrum*, "shrine";⁷ or again *corpora*, "bodies", for *corpus*, "body";⁸ or again *terga*, "backs", for *tergum*, "back";⁹ or again *vocabula*, "appellations", for *vocabulum*, "appellation";¹⁰ or again *exempla*, "examples", for *exemplum*, "example";¹¹ or again *vina*, "wines", for *vinum*, "wine".¹²

V. 7. Ye who haunt the springs of Aganippian Hippocrene.—On Mount Helicon in Boeotia there were two famous springs associated with the Muses; one was Aganippe, near the grove of the Muses; the other was Hippocrene, much higher up, near the summit of the mountain. Hippocrene took its name, which means the Horse's Fount, from the legend that it gushed from the rock where the hoof of Pegasus, the horse of Bellerophon, struck the ground.¹³ Ovid has here confused the two springs, though

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 18.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 20.

³ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 213, 318.

⁴ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 20.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 449, iii. 4, 118, 150, 246, 387, 390, 870, iv. 70, 160, 284, 872, v. 1, 149, vi. 578; *Metamorph.* xiv. 396.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 511, 670, iii. 247, 430, 704, iv. 159, 622, v. 153, 552, 577, 669, vi. 34, 52, 183, 480, 650, 796.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 555, vi. 241, 791.

⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 596, iv. 143 (with variant *tempora*).

⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 12, 77, 695, 698, 784, v. 605, vi. 123.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 847, v. 73.

¹¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 847.

¹² Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 630.

¹³ Pausanias, ix. 29. 5, ix. 31. 3. with my commentary (vol. v. pp. 152 sq., 158).

elsewhere he distinguishes them.¹ He calls Pegasus "the Medusæan steed" because that winged horse was said to have sprung from the severed neck of Medusa when Perseus cut off her head, as Ovid has already told in an earlier part of this work, where he calls Pegasus "the Gorgonian steed".²

V. 11. **After chaos, as soon as the three elements were given to the world.**—Here Ovid apparently recognizes the existence of only three elements, sky, earth, and water. Elsewhere he admits of four, namely, air, fire, water, and earth.³

V. 16. **Ye horses of the moon.**—The Moon was supposed to drive in a chariot drawn by two horses, while the Sun rode a car to which four horses were yoked.⁴

V. 21. **not one of the upstart deities took the outer side of Ocean, and Themis was often relegated to the lowest place.**—Ocean and Themis were among the primeval deities, the offspring of Sky and Earth,⁵ and therefore naturally expected to take precedence of the junior gods and goddesses, such as Apollo and Artemis, Ares and Aphrodite, Hermes, Athena, and so on. Nay, Zeus and Hera themselves were junior to Ocean and Themis; and when Hera returned, crestfallen, to Olympus after a tiff with Zeus on the top of the Trojan Mount Ida, Themis was the first to run and greet her and ask what had put her out. In reply the gratified goddess bade Themis begin the feast of the gods in the heavenly house.⁶ This polite attention proves that the Queen of the Gods at least knew how to treat a senior goddess with proper respect. However, the variations in the manuscripts leave it doubtful whether Themis is mentioned at all in this passage. See the Critical Note. As to the expression "took the outer side" ("*latus . . . iunxit*") see the note on line 68.

V. 34. **Till fate banished the elder god from heaven's citadel.**—Ovid has already alluded to the dethronement of Saturn by his son Jupiter.⁷

V. 35. **Earth brought forth the Giants.**—The poet has

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 312.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 450 sqq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 105 sqq., *Metamorph.* i. 5 sqq. See the note on *Fasti*, i. 103.

⁴ Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 9.

⁵ Hesiod, *Theog.* 133-135; Apollodorus, i. 1. 3.

⁶ Homer, *Il.* xv. 84-95.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 197 sq.

already spoken of this monstrous brood and their assault on heaven.¹

V. 37. she gave them a thousand hands, and snakes for legs.—Earth by union with Sky is said to have produced three monstrous beings, each with a hundred hands and fifty heads; their names were Briareus, Gyes, and Cottus.² But the giants who assaulted heaven were a later brood of Earth and Sky,³ though Ovid has confounded them with the three Hundred-handers. The giants are said to have had serpents for feet;⁴ they are often so represented in the later monuments of antiquity, for example in the reliefs from the great altar of Pergamum.⁵ Pausanias dismissed as a foolish tale the assertion that the giants were serpent-footed, and in refutation of it he referred to a gigantic skeleton of a man which had been found in the bed of the river Orontes, when the water had been diverted from it to form a canal at the command of a Roman emperor; the earthenware coffin which contained the skeleton was more than eleven ells long, and the body was large in proportion, and its feet were not serpentine.⁶

V. 51. she enhances the lictor's rods, the ivory chair of office.—To both these badges of high office at Rome the poet has already referred in an earlier part of the present work.⁷

V. 65. certain laws defined the age at which office might be sought.—In the early times of the Republic there appear to have been no laws defining the age at which a man might be elected to office. Thus Tacitus says that of old any man of good character might be a candidate for office, and that youth was no obstacle to the holding of even the dignity of consul or dictator.⁸ Similarly Cicero affirms that the ancient Romans had no laws limiting the time of life at which men became eligible for office, and he says that the Rulli, the Decii, the Corvini, and many others had been elected consuls

¹ *Fasti*, iii. 439-442, *Metamorph.* i. 151-162. See note on *Fasti*, iii. 439.

² Hesiod, *Theog.* 147-152; Apollodorus, i. 1. 1.

³ Hesiod, *Theog.* 183-186; Apollodorus, i. 6. 1.

⁴ Apollodorus, i. 6. 1; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 578; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 20. 9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 183 sq.; *id.*, *Tristia*, iv. 7. 17.

⁵ Kuhnert, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1664 sqq.; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 274 sqq.

⁶ Pausanias, viii. 29. 3-4.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 81 sq., with the note.

⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 22.

when they were very young men. He adds that laws defining the age at which a man might hold office (*leges annales*) had been introduced at a later time for the purpose of putting candidates on an equality with each other, but that the effect had been to deprive the commonwealth of the services of many able men, who died before they were legally qualified for office.¹ The first law prescribing the ages at which candidates became eligible for the high offices of State was introduced by the tribune L. Villius in 180 B.C.,² but its exact provisions are not known. Such laws fixing the years (*anni*) of a man's life at which he began to be qualified for office were called *leges annales*³ or *leges annariae*.⁴

V. 67. An elder man used to walk between younger men, . . . and if he had only one companion, the elder walked on the inner side.—We should naturally understand the phrase “on the inner side” (*interior*) to mean “on the side next to the wall”. But from the note of a scholiast on Horace, cited by the commentators,⁵ it appears that the converse expression “on the outer side” (*exterior*) meant in Latin “on the left side”; from which it follows that “on the inner side” (*interior*) must mean “on the right side”. Further, from the note of a scholiast on Juvenal, quoted by the commentators, it appears that to walk on a man's left side was also meant by the expression “to cover his side” (*latus claudere* or *cludere*); “so we see that the inferior walked, as a mark of respect, on the left hand of his superior—a survival no doubt of the times when the great warrior did execution with his right arm, while his humbler friends protected him from assault on the shield-side”.⁶ Equivalent to the phrase *latus claudere*, and expressing the same sense still more clearly, is the phrase *latus tegere*, “to cover the side of somebody”.⁷ In precisely the same sense Ovid has

¹ Cicero, *Philipp.* v. 17. 47-48.

² Livy, xl. 44. 1.

³ Cicero, *Philipp.* v. 17. 47.

⁴ Festus, s.v. “Annaria lex”, p. 25 ed. Lindsay. As to these laws see W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*?, pp. 173 sq.; Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i.² (Leipzig, 1876) pp. 544 sqq.

⁵ E. C. Wickham and A. Palmer, on Horace, *Sat.* ii. 5. 17.

⁶ J. D. Duff, on Juvenal, iii. 131.

⁷ Horace, *Sat.* ii. 5. 18; Suetonius, *Claudius*, 24. 3. See Critical Note on *Fasti*, v. 21.

used the phrase *latus iungere*, "to join the side to somebody", a little before in this book.¹

V. 71. on the men of his choice he bestowed the title of **Fathers**.—The Senators bore the title of Fathers or, more exactly, Conscript Fathers.² But strictly speaking the title Conscript applied only to the one hundred and sixty-four new Senators who, on the expulsion of the kings in 509 B.C., were chosen from the plebeian or the equestrian order to make up the proper number of three hundred, which had been diminished by the cruelties of Tarquin the Proud.³

V. 73. Hence I incline to think that the elders (*maiores*) gave their own name to the month of May.—This derivation of the name of May (*Maius*) from *maior*, "elder", and the name of June (*Iunius*) from *iunior*, "younger", was accepted by Varro⁴ and Fulvius Nobilior.⁵ The same derivation of the two names is mentioned, without being adopted, by Censorinus,⁶ Festus,⁷ Servius,⁸ Ausonius,⁹ Isidore,¹⁰ and Plutarch,¹¹ though Plutarch himself preferred the derivation from Maia and Juno (Hera) respectively. Indeed, according to Censorinus,¹² Varro himself definitely adopted the derivation of May from *Maia* and of June from *Juno*, on the strong ground that in the month of May sacrifices were offered to Maia and Mercury not only in Rome but in Latium, and that in the month of June honours were especially paid to Juno; further, it was the opinion of the great Roman antiquary that the Romans borrowed the names of the months from the Latins, who had used them before the foundation of Rome. In view of this definite statement, which we have no ground for questioning, we must appar-

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 21.

² Livy, i. 8. 4; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 12. 3; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 13.

³ Livy, ii. 1. 10 sq.; Festus, s.v. "Qui patres, qui conscripti," p. 305 ed. Lindsay; *id.*, s.v. "Adlecti," p. 6 ed. Lindsay; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 13. 4; *id.*, *Publicola*, 11; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 58.

⁴ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

⁵ Fulvius Nobilior, cited by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16.

⁶ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 9.

⁷ Festus, s.v. "Maius," p. 120 ed. Lindsay.

⁸ Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43.

⁹ Ausonius, *Ecl.* x. *De mensibus*, 9-12.

¹⁰ Isidore, *Origines*, v. 33. 8.

¹¹ Plutarch, *Numa*, 19; compare *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 86.

¹² Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 10-12.

ently suppose that on further inquiry Varro saw reason to reject the derivations of *Maius* and *Junius* from *maior* and *iunior*. If that was so, his second thoughts were probably best.

In this passage the use of *tangor* (line 74) in the sense of *inducor ut credam*, "I incline to think", is peculiar, and I formerly thought that the verb must be corrupt. But Professor A. E. Housman, whom I consulted on the point, wrote to me as follows: "Cicero has several examples of the brachylogy found in *De divin.* i. 35 *nec adducar* (ut credam) *totam Etruriam delirare*; and I do not think it incredible that a poet should extend the usage to *tangor*, 'I am influenced (to believe that)'. Somewhat analogous is Tac. *Ann.* iv. 57 *permoveor* (ut quaeram) *num ad ipsum referri verius sit*. Such at any rate seems to be the sort of sense required." I accept my learned friend's defence of *tangor*, and have accordingly cancelled the conjectures by which I had proposed to emend, or rather corrupt, the text. The poet's meaning would be given and the metre preserved by the substitution of *censeo* for *tangor*.

V. 79. **Then Calliope, her unkempt hair bound up with ivy.**—This description of the Muse Calliope our author has repeated almost verbally from a passage in the *Metamorphoses*.¹ Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, is said by Hesiod to have been the chief of all the Muses, because she attended on kings.² The poet probably had in mind the wandering minstrel chanting his lays to the music of the harp in castle-halls. Such bards were believed to be inspired by the Muse, as Ulysses said of the minstrel Demodocus in the halls of King Alcinous, though on second thoughts he left it an open question whether the inspiration was derived from a Muse or Apollo.³ The ivy was used to wreath the brows of poets as well as of the Muse,⁴ because the plant was sacred to Bacchus,⁵ who was one of the sources of the poet's inspiration,⁶ frenzy and inspiration being, as usual, practically indistinguishable.

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 338 sq., "*Surgit et inmissos hedera collecta capillos | Calliope*".

² Hesiod, *Theog.* 79 sq.

³ Homer, *Od.* viii. 479-488.

⁴ Virgil, *Ecl.* vii. 25, viii. 12 sq.; Horace, *Odes*, i. 1. 29-30.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 767, with the note.

⁶ Horace, *Odes*, ii. 19. 1 sqq., iii. 25. 1 sqq., *Epist.* i. 19. 3 sq., ii. 2. 77 sq.

V. 81. **Tethys, the Titaness, was wedded of old by Ocean.**—Tethys and Ocean were among the Titans and Titanesses, the primitive offspring of Sky (*Uranos*) and Earth, of whom there were twelve, six Titans and six Titanesses.¹ Thus Ocean and Tethys were, like Zeus and Hera, at once brother and sister and husband and wife. Such double relationships are common in primitive cosmogonies. When, as sometimes happens, the first human pair are represented as brother and sister, they have clearly no choice but to marry or suffer the species to come to an untimely end, and they usually bow to necessity. This happens perhaps most frequently after a great flood which has destroyed the whole population of the habitable globe, with the exception of a solitary pair, who happen unfortunately to be brother and sister.²

V. 83. **Pleione . . . gave birth to the Pleiades.**—The myth of the Pleiades has already been told by Ovid.³

V. 85. **Maia is said to have surpassed her sisters in beauty.** The myth of Maia, daughter of Atlas and mother of Hermes (Mercury), is told by the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*.⁴

V. 87. **She on the ridge of Mount Cyllene, wooded with cypresses, gave birth to him.**—That Maia gave birth to Hermes (Mercury) on Mount Cyllene is affirmed also by Apollodorus;⁵ but the people of Tanagra in Boeotia maintained that Hermes was born on Mount Cerycius near them.⁶ The author of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* speaks of that god as "lord of Cyllene".⁷ Cyllene is the highest mountain in Arcadia; its top is clearly visible from Attica; snow lies on it for about eight months of the year.⁸ In antiquity there was a temple of Hermes on the top of the mountain, but by the second century of our era it had fallen into ruins.⁹

¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 131-136; Apollodorus, i. 1. 3.

² For examples see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 194, 195, 208, 222, 227 sq., 272 sq. ³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 169 sqq., with the note.

⁴ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 1 sqq. Compare Apollodorus, iii. 10. 1 sq.; Sophocles, *Ichneutae* (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Peason, vol. i. pp. 224-270).

⁵ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 2.

⁶ Pausanias, ix. 20. 3.

⁷ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 1 sq.

⁸ Pausanias, viii. 17. 1, with my commentary (vol. iv. p. 245).

⁹ Pausanias, viii. 17. 1.

Yearly sacrifices were offered to Hermes on the summit of the mountain, and it is said that every year the sacrificers found the ashes and remains of last year's sacrifice lying exactly as they had left them.¹ The mountain is now thickly wooded with firs and pines, not with cypresses, up to a certain height, but the cone is bare and treeless.²

V. 89. **Hurrying Ladon, and huge Maenalus.**—Ovid has already noted the rapid current of the beautiful Arcadian river Ladon.³ Maenalus was the name of a mountain in Arcadia sacred to Pan, who might sometimes be heard piping in the lonely coombs.⁴

V. 90. **that land accounted older than the moon.**—The poet has already alluded to the claim of Arcadia to be older than the moon.⁵

V. 91. **An exile from Arcadia; Evander came to the Latin fields.**—The coming of the Arcadian Evander, with his prophetic mother, to Italy, and his settlement on the site where Rome afterwards stood, have already been told by Ovid at greater length.⁶

V. 97. **The Nonacrian hero.**—Nonacris was a city of Arcadia, situated in a deep glen near the fall of the Styx. In the second century of our era it lay in ruins.⁷ The adjective Nonacrian is here equivalent to Arcadian. Elsewhere the poet employs the adjective in the same general sense.⁸

V. 99. **the rites of two-horned Faunus and of the wing-footed god.**—By "the rites of Faunus" the poet means the Lupercalia, which he has described and discussed under the month of February.⁹ "The winged-footed god" is Mercury (Hermes), who wore winged sandals which enabled him to fly through the air.¹⁰ These winged sandals are not mentioned by Homer, but in vase-paintings the god is often represented wearing them.¹¹

¹ Geminus, *Elementa Astronomiae*, xvii. 3, p. 180 ed. Manitius.

² C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 182; my commentary on Pausanias, viii. 17. 1 (vol. iv. p. 245).

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 274, with the note.

⁴ Pausanias, viii. 36. 8.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 469 sq., with the note.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 467-542.

⁷ Pausanias, viii. 17. 6. See note on *Fasti*, ii. 275.

⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 275, *Metamorph.* i. 690, ii. 409, viii. 426.

⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 267 sqq., with the notes.

¹⁰ Compare *Fasti*, iv. 605.

¹¹ Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 413 sq.

V. 104. **O thou inventor of the curved lyre.**—Mercury (Hermes) was believed to have invented the lyre, making it out of the shell of a tortoise.¹

V. 104. **patron of thieves.**—The Greek god Hermes, like his Italian counterpart Mercury, was a thief and the patron of thieves. Before he was out of the cradle he had stolen fifty head of the cattle of the gods,² and when his mother remonstrated with him on the theft, he threatened to go to Delphi, break in Apollo's treasure-house, and carry off the gold, the votive tripods, cauldrons, and all the rest of the treasures.³ Apollo himself was forced to admit that the infant god, still in his swaddling-clothes, would bear the title of Prince of Robbers among the gods for ever.⁴ In a Greek epigram on the theft of an image of Hermes the thief is complimented on his adroitness in stealing "the thief Hermes, the lord of robbers".⁵ In modern India, as in ancient Greece, thieves and robbers have their divine patron, who is sometimes a deceased member of the profession. "It is well known that a certain tribe in India worship a notorious robber, whose deeds merit nothing but general execration. Perhaps, however, a sufficient explanation of this circumstance may be found in the fact that the tribe in question is itself addicted to occasional plundering on its own account. . . . Another robber, who was hung at Trinchinopoly, became so popular as a demon that children were constantly named after him."⁶ In northern India "thieves and burglars worship the implements of their craft. Majahiya Doms in the United Provinces and Bihar worship the jemmy which they use to dig through the mud walls of houses, and, as a survival from the Age of Stone, they exclude any member from the tribe who uses otherwise an iron implement, as they believe that this will cause the eyes to drop out; Chauhāns in the Central Pro-

¹ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 47 sqq.; Pausanias, ii. 19. 7, v. 14. 8, viii. 17. 5; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 2; Horace, *Odes*, i. 10. 6.

² *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 69 sqq.

³ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 154-181.

⁴ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 291 sq.

⁵ G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), p. 499, No. 1108. As to Mercury in his capacity of thief see Horace, *Odes*, i. 10. 7 sq.

⁶ Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (London, 1883), p. 260.

vinces, who used to be addicted to petty theft, are said to have worshipped the iron rod used for digging through walls, but they are now village watchmen and accordingly worship at the Dasahra the bludgeon which is their badge of office."¹

V. III. **Begin the work with Jupiter.**—Ovid no doubt had in his mind the opening words of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, "From Zeus let us begin",² a favourite tag with Roman writers. Cicero quotes it with due acknowledgement.³

V. 113. **the rainy sign of the Olenian She-goat rises.**—In saying that the constellation of the She-goat (Capella) rose on the first of May, the poet is in error by more than three weeks; for in his time the apparent morning rising of Capella at Rome fell on the seventh of April. Columella dated the morning rising of the constellation two days earlier,⁴ which is so much nearer the truth. Pliny, or more probably his authority Caesar, put the rising of Capella seven days later, on the eighth of May.⁵ Ovid and Columella seem to have followed Greek calendars. Caesar's dating is tolerably exact for the latitude of Alexandria, and this circumstance goes, with other indications of the same sort, to prove that Caesar, or rather the Alexandrian mathematician Sosigenes, whom he employed in correcting the calendar,⁶ inserted in the reformed calendar a number of dates calculated for the latitude of Alexandria but not reduced to suit the latitude of Rome.⁷

Aratus tells us that the interpreters of Zeus called the constellation the Olenian She-goat,⁸ and the epithet is repeated by Ovid in the present passage and in another, where he speaks of "the rainy star of Olenian Capella"⁹. The epithet has been variously explained. Strabo under-

¹ W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 332. Compare R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), ii. 428 sq.

² Aratus, *Phaenomena*, I, Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα.

³ Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 3. 7.

⁴ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 37.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 248.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 211.

⁷ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philol. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 143 sq.

⁸ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 162-166.

⁹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 594.

stood it to refer to Olene or Olenus in Achaia ;¹ Hyginus referred it either to a town Olenus in Aulis (*sic*) or to Olenus, son of Vulcan and father of the nymphs Aega and Helice, who were the nurses of Jupiter.² According to Lactantius Placidus,³ Olenus was "a city of Arcadia, in which the goat Amalthea is said to have nursed Jupiter". Another explanation of the epithet Olenian is that it is derived from *ōlenē*, the Greek for arm, because Capella, according to Aratus and Hyginus, rests on the left shoulder of Auriga, the heavenly Charioteer.⁴ Ovid distinguishes the nymph Amalthea from the goat which suckled Jupiter (Zeus) ; but according to what would seem to have been the common version of the myth, Amalthea was herself the goat.⁵ However, Musaeus (quoted by Hyginus⁶) and Eratosthenes⁷ distinguish Amalthea from her goat, and Ovid has followed their version. The rising of Capella was regarded by Roman writers as a sign of rainy weather. Here and elsewhere, as we have seen, Ovid speaks of the constellation as rainy ; and Columella observes that its rising is accompanied by south winds and sometimes by rain.⁸

V. 121. she broke a horn on a tree. . . . The nymph picked it up.—The horn of Amalthea was a magic horn of abundance (*cornucopia*), which was supposed to produce whatever the possessor of it might wish.⁹

V. 129. The Calends of May witnessed the foundation of an altar to the Guardian Lares.—This statement is confirmed by the brief entry LAR(IBUS) in the Venusian calendar under the first of May.¹⁰ The Sabine king Titus Tatius is said to have dedicated an altar to the Lares ;¹¹ it may have been the altar here mentioned by Ovid. The reading of the text in line 131 is very uncertain. If with

¹ Strabo, viii. 7. 5, p. 387.

² Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13.

³ Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 105.

⁴ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 162 sq. ; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13.

⁵ Callimachus, *Hymns*, I. *To Zeus*, 47 sq. ; Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 3 ; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13 ; Manilius, i. 366-369 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 105.

⁶ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13.

⁷ Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13.

⁸ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 37.

⁹ Apollodorus, ii. 7. 5, with my note ; Zonaras, *Cent.* ii. 48 ; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 501 sq.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 317.

¹¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74.

Paley and many MSS. we read *ara erat illa quidem Curibus*, the meaning will be, "That altar indeed was formerly at Cures" (the Sabine capital of Titus Tatius), which gives good sense and may be right. The meaning would be substantially the same if, with Peter, retaining *Curibus*, we accept H. Jordan's emendation *arserat* for *ars erat*, the reading of a single MS.: "the altar had blazed" (that is, had been in use as a place of sacrifice) "at Cures". The Curius who, according to the reading adopted in the text, dedicated the altar to the Lares appears to be otherwise unknown. If for *Curius* we read *Tatius* in the text, all will be clear: in that case Ovid will say that the ancient images dedicated by King Titus Tatius had disappeared in course of time and had been replaced by others.

Augustus built or restored a temple of the Lares at the head of the Sacred Way.¹ But a temple of the Lares existed before that date, for a portent was reported as seen at the temple in 106 B.C.,² and Cicero speaks of a shrine of the curious goddess Orphanhood (Orbona) beside the temple of the Lares.³ The temple must have stood near where the arch of Titus now stands. It was probably different from the shrine (*sacellum*) of the Lares which adjoined the *pomerium* on the Palatine.⁴ The temple of the Lares is mentioned by Ovid later on.⁵

The title of these Lares was *Praestites*, "Guardians", from *praestare*, "to stand before", "to guard, preserve". Plutarch asks why a figure of a dog stood beside the images of the Guardian Lares, and why the images were clad in the skins of dogs.⁶ Ovid was equally puzzled by the stone dog at the feet of the Lares (lines 137-142), and modern research seems to throw little or no new light on the special relation of the Lares to dogs. On the reverse

¹ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 7, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 26 ed. Diehl⁴; Solinus, i. 23.

² Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 41 (101), p. 164 ed. Rossbach.

³ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 25. 63; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 16.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24. Compare O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², p. 161; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2. p. 420, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 22 note⁵⁰.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 791 sq., with the note.

⁶ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 51.

of a denarius issued by L. Caesius about 104 B.C., the two Lares are represented sitting with a dog between them, which they appear to be caressing. They are assimilated to the Dioscuri. The upper parts of their bodies are naked; the lower parts are hidden by what is variously regarded as dog-skins and ordinary cloaks. This representation of the Lares is unique. In later art the deities are often represented, especially in wall-paintings and bronze statuettes, but their type is that of boys dancing and holding cornucopias or drinking-vessels, and fully clad.¹

V. 140. **cross-roads are dear to the god.**—Ovid refers to the Lares Compitales, who were worshipped at cross-roads (*compita*).²

V. 141. **the Lar and Diana's pack give chase to thieves.**—By "Diana's pack" the poet means dogs, though the pack of the huntress goddess were rather hunting-dogs than watch-dogs. The notion that the rights of property are protected against thieves by supernatural powers, whether magical or divine, is widespread in the world, and has no doubt done much to establish the institution of private property. The Greeks placed their property under the guardianship of Property Zeus (*Zeus Ktesios*), whose image was appropriately set up in storerooms,³ where he could keep a watchful eye on the goods and even multiply them; for the epithet *ktesios* applies even more strictly to the acquisition than to the conservation of wealth.⁴ Families sacrificed to him in private, without the presence of strangers or slaves, and they prayed to him for health and wealth.⁵ His worship has been learnedly discussed by Mr. A. B. Cook, who surmises that this family deity was originally no

¹ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 281 sq.; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 201, with the note of Percy Gardner, pp. 351 sq.; G. Wissowa, s.v. "Lares", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1871 sq., 1891 sqq.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 615 sq., with the note.

³ Harpocration, s.v. Κτησίον Διός; Suidas, s.v. Ζεὺς κτήσιος, ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἰδρύοντο ὡς πλουτοδότην.

⁴ Suidas, l.c.; Dio Chrysostom, *Or. i.*, vol. i. p. 9 ed. L. Dindorf.

⁵ Isaeus, *Or. viii.* 16, with the note of W. Wyse, who observes that *Zeus Ktesios* "was essentially a household god, guardian of the family wealth". As to his worship at Athens see also Antiphon, *Or. i.* 16-20. Offerings of water, olive oil, and fruits appear to have been deposited for him in jars of a special sort. See Athenaeus, xi. 46, p. 473 b-c.

other than the spirit of a forefather, who, in accordance with ancient custom, had been buried in the house.¹ If my friend is right in this view, the Property Zeus of the Greeks was identical in origin and nature with the Family Lar (*Lar Familiaris*) of the Romans.² Other people, like the Greeks and Romans, have looked to their gods rather than to the police to protect their property and punish thieves. Thus, for example, among the Tshi-speaking negroes of the Gold Coast, "if a man had property stolen from his house, he might go to the priest of the local deity he was accustomed to worship, state the loss that had befallen him, make an offering of a fowl, rum, and eggs, and ask the priest to supplicate the god to punish the thief".³

V. 146. **the parishes worship the three divinities.**—Augustus divided Rome into fourteen regions and two hundred and sixty-five parishes (*vici*). In every parish four magistrates, called Masters of the Parish, were elected from among the parishioners.⁴ Among the duties of these Masters of the Parish was the superintendence of the worship of the Lares Compitales; for in every parish there was a central shrine or chapel (*compitum* or *aedicula*) of the Lares Compitales, answering to our parish church, in which the images of the two Lares were set up, with the image of the Genius of Augustus between them. Augustus ordained that these Lares Compitales should be decked with fresh flowers twice a year, in spring and summer.⁵ These Lares were represented as dancing youths with curly hair and short togas girt about their loins; in one uplifted hand each holds a drinking-horn, from which he is pouring a libation into a bowl or saucer held in his other hand. The Genius of Augustus was represented in the form of a man dressed in a toga and offering a sacrifice. The inscriptions ran: *Laribus Augustis et Genio Caesaris* or (in

¹ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 1054-1068. Compare Miss Jane E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 297 sqq.

² See note on *Fasti*, ii. 615 (Vol. II. pp. 467 sqq.).

³ A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 75. For more evidence see E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1908), ii. 59 sqq.; *Psyche's Task*², pp. 20 sqq.

⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30. 1; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 66.

⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 4.

later times) *Genis Caesarum*.¹ To this joint worship of the Lares and the Genius of Augustus allusion is made by Horace.² The example thus set by the Emperor in the parishes was followed by private people in their houses; they, too, set up an image of a Genius beside the images of the Lares in their domestic shrine, but the Genius was that of the householder, not that of the Emperor.³

V. 147. The month of August has a rightful claim to that subject of my verse.—Ovid means that he must defer the subject of the worship of Augustus till he comes to August, the month which took its new name from the Emperor. This passage is another proof that the poet fully intended to complete his work on the Roman calendar by carrying it through the twelve months of the year.

V. 148. the Good Goddess must be the theme of my song.—Ovid implies that the temple of the Good Goddess was dedicated on the first of May and that it was so we know from the definite statement of the antiquary Cornelius Labeo, quoted by Macrobius.⁴ That it stood on the Aventine follows from the statement of Ovid (lines 151-152) that it was situated on the spot where Remus watched for the omens of the birds; for we have seen that Remus chose the Aventine as his look-out place.⁵ As the temple stood on the slope lower down than the Rock (*Saxum*), which appears to have formed the summit of the hill, the Good Goddess was distinguished by the epithet "She under the Rock" (*Subsaxana*); her temple existed down to the fourth century of our era at least, being mentioned in the description of Rome (*Notitia*) of that date.⁶ The only other ancient writer who mentions the Rock (*Saxum*) on the Aventine is Cicero, who tells us that in 123 B.C. Licinia, a Vestal Virgin of noble

¹ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 203-207; G. Wissowa, s.v. "Lares", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1872 sqq., 1879 sqq.; id., *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 172 sq.; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3612-3621.

² Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5. 33-35.

³ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 173; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3605, 3641.

⁴ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 21.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 815 sqq., with the note.

⁶ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 560.

birth, dedicated an altar, a chapel (*aedicula*), and a sacred couch (*pulvinar*) under the Rock.¹ This chapel may have adjoined the temple of the Good Goddess in that neighbourhood, but it cannot have been identical with it, for Cicero tells us that Licinia's dedication was disallowed as illegal by the pontiffs. In the present passage (line 155) Ovid is supposed to have had this dedication by the Vestal Licinia in mind, though he implies that her name was Claudia, apparently confusing her with the Claudia, by some thought to have been a Vestal, who received the image of the Great Mother on her arrival in Italy.² The temple of the Good Goddess was rebuilt by Hadrian.³ No traces of the temple have been found, and even its exact situation on the Aventine is unknown.⁴

The nature of the Good Goddess appears to have been a matter of some uncertainty both in ancient and modern times. The old antiquary, Cornelius Labeo, regarded her as an Earth-goddess, identical with Maia, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua; he affirmed that her character as an Earth-goddess was proved by the secret rites observed in her honour, and that she was invoked in the books of the pontiffs under the titles Good, Fauna, Ops, and Fatua.⁵ On the whole, this view of the Good Goddess as an Earth-goddess, invoked by women for the sake of procuring offspring and ensuring the fertility of the ground, has been accepted by modern writers on Roman religion. Her identification with the old Roman goddess Maia, who gave her name to the month of May,⁶ may have arisen, as Mannhardt suggested, from the accident that both were worshipped on May Day.⁷ According to Festus,⁸ the Good Goddess

¹ "Sub saxo", Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, 53. 136.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 305 sqq.

³ Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 19.

⁴ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 182 sq.; A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 107 sqq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 421.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 21 sq.

⁶ See above, p. 1.

⁷ L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*², i. 384 sq., 398 sqq.; W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 115-120; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 102-106; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 216-219 (who identifies the Good Goddess with Fauna).

⁸ Festus, s.v. "Damium", p. 60 ed. Lindsay.

was also called Damia, her priestess bore the title of Damiatrix, and a secret sacrifice in her honour was known as *Damium*. This points to an identification or confusion of the Good Goddess with the Greek goddess Damia, a divinity of growth and fertility akin to Demeter.¹ The affinity of the Good Goddess to Demeter comes out in other ways. The victim offered to the Good Goddess was a sow, and tame serpents seem to have been kept in her temple.² Similarly, pigs were the victims regularly offered to Demeter, and in her sacred vaults or chasms there were serpents which consumed the pigs thrown into them at the women's festival of the Thesmophoria.³ Once a year the Roman women celebrated by night secret rites in honour of the Good Goddess; the celebration took place in the house of the consul or praetor for the year, and all men had to quit the house for the occasion, because no male might be present at the rites; the Vestal Virgins assisted at the ceremony.⁴ In the year 62 B.C., while the women were celebrating these mysteries in the house of Julius Caesar, who was then praetor, the notorious profligate Publius Clodius made his way into their midst disguised as a lute-girl, but he was discovered and ejected. The affair created a great scandal, and Caesar in consequence divorced his wife Pompeia, with whom Clodius was in love.⁵

V. 153. **a temple which abhors the eyes of males.**—Men were not allowed to enter the temple of the Good Goddess. According to Varro, she was a daughter of Faunus, and was so modest a maid that she never went out of the women's apartments, never saw a man or was seen by one, and her name was never heard in public.⁶ Some

¹ Herodotus, v. 82-88; Pausanias, ii. 30. 4, ii. 32. 2, with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 266-268, vol. v. p. 592).

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 23 and 25; Plutarch, *Caesar*, 9. 3.

³ *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipsic, 1906), pp. 275 sq.; Pausanias, ix. 8. 1; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 17, p. 14 ed. Potter; *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 16 sqq.

⁴ Plutarch, *Cicero*, 19 sq., 28; *id.*, *Caesar*, 9 sq.; compare Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 35 and 45.

⁵ Plutarch, *Cicero*, 28; *id.*, *Caesar*, 9 sq.; Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i. 12; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 35 and 45.

⁶ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 26 sq.; compare Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 22, quoting Varro and Sextus Clodius, according to the latter of whom the Good Goddess was the wife of Faunus.

curious taboos were observed in the temple of the goddess. Thus no myrtle bough might be brought into the sacred edifice ; when wine was carried into the temple and poured in libation, it might not be mentioned by its proper name, but must be called milk, and the vessel in which it was contained was called a honey-pot.¹

V. 155. *an heiress of the ancient name of the Clausi.*—Ovid has already referred to the descent of the noble Claudian family from the Sabine Attus Clausus.²

V. 159. *When next Hyperion's daughter on the steeds of morn shall lift her rosy lamp.*—The Dawn (Aurora) was said to be a daughter of Hyperion by the Titaness Thia.³ Some thought that her father, Hyperion, was the sun, but according to Hesiod the sun was the brother, not the father, of the Dawn.⁴

V. 161. *the cold north-west wind will kiss the topmost corn-ears.*—According to Pliny, the north-west wind (*Argestes*) was very cold ;⁵ but it would be favourable for ships sailing from the great port of Brundisium in Calabria ; hence Ovid's reference to white sails putting out from Calabrian waters.

V. 164. *no single part of the whole flock of the Hyades will be invisible.*—Ovid here places the *evening* rising of the Hyades on May 2. In this he differs from Pliny⁶ and Columella,⁷ both of whom date the *morning* rising of the Hyades on May 2, apparently following the calendar of Caesar, to which Pliny expressly refers. Herein Pliny, Columella, and seemingly Caesar all erred, for the true morning rising of the Hyades at Rome did not take place till May 16 and the apparent rising not till June 9. The true evening *setting* of the Hyades took place at Rome on May 3 ; so that Caesar, Pliny, Columella, and Ovid appear to have all erred in speaking of the rising instead of

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 25 ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 20 ; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 18 (quoting Sextus Clodius in the sixth book of his Greek treatise on the gods).

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 305, with the note.

³ Hesiod, *Theog.* 371-374 ; Apollodorus, i. 2. 2.

⁴ Hesiod and Apollodorus, *l.c.* As to Hyperion see *Fasti*, i. 385, with the note.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 338.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 248.

⁷ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 39.

the setting of the Hyades, and the first three committed the further error of referring the phenomenon to the morning instead of to the evening appearance of the constellation.¹

V. 165. **The head of the Bull sparkles radiant with seven flames, which the Grecian sailor calls the Hyades.**—The ancients were agreed that the Hyades were a group of stars in the forehead of the Bull (Taurus),² but they differed as to their number. Some, like Ovid, reckoned seven of them; others, like Hyginus,³ counted only five.⁴ The name Hyades is Greek and is rightly derived by Ovid from *hycin*, “to rain”, and this was the usual derivation adopted in antiquity. Others, however, derived the name from the Greek *hys*, “a pig”; hence the name was erroneously translated in Latin as *Suculae*, “little pigs”;⁵ the error was noted and corrected by Pliny.⁶ The story, mentioned by Ovid, that the Hyades were the nurses of the youthful Dionysus, may have been a mere mythical expression of the fact that vines are fostered by rains; it was supported by the ancient Athenian mythographer Pherecydes, who, like Ovid, reckoned the Hyades seven in number.⁷ The myth of Hyas, son of Atlas and Aethra, and brother of the Hyades, who in hunting was killed by a lion or a boar and mourned by his sisters till they were turned into the watery stars, is told by Hyginus and others.⁸

V. 169. **Not yet did Atlas stand bearing the burden of Olympus on his shoulders.**—It is said that Juno, jealous of the regal power which her husband Jupiter had granted to his bastard son Epaphus in Egypt, stirred up the Titans to

¹ Ideler, “Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid,” *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 154.

² Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 167 sqq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21.

³ Hyginus, *Fab.* 192, *Astronom.* ii. 21.

⁴ Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138, “*Has alii septem, alii quinque dicunt*”.

⁵ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 43. 111; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 744, *Georg.* i. 138; Hyginus, *Fab.* 192.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 247.

⁷ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173, p. 396 ed. F. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id.*, *Fab.* 192; Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3.

⁸ Hyginus, *Fab.* 192; *id.*, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173, p. 396 ed. Eyssenhardt; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 744.

attack and dethrone Jupiter and to restore Saturn to the kingdom of heaven, from which he had been deposed. But in the battle Jupiter was victorious over the Titans and punished Atlas, their ringleader, by compelling him to bear on his shoulders the vault of heaven, which he had essayed to take by storm.¹ With the classical myth of the sky resting on the shoulders of Atlas we may compare a belief of the Tumbuku, a people of Nyasaland, in Central Africa. They think that "the firmament is upheld by great pillars that God erected where the sky meets the earth, and on these pillars there are stationed certain very old people whose continual duty it is to drive away the little birds that come to pick at the props of the sky, and at the sun when it passes down into the west. Should they neglect their work the sky will fall, and universal destruction will follow."²

V. 183. **Come, Mother of Flowers, that we may honour thee with merry games.**—We have seen that the Games of Flora extended over six days, from April 28 to May 3, inclusive.³

V. 189. **the victor's palm.**—Palm-branches were bestowed as prizes on the victors in the games for the first time at Rome in 293 B.C.; the custom was borrowed from Greece.⁴

V. 195. **I who now am called Flora was formerly Chloris.**—This derivation of the name Flora from the Greek Chloris (χλωρίς), "the Green One", is of course false. The true derivation from *flos* and *florere* is obvious. In Greek legend there was a daughter of Amphion and Niobe named Chloris, who married Neleus;⁵ but she had nothing to do with Flora.

V. 197. **the happy fields where, as you have heard, dwelt fortunate men of old.**—Ovid has in his mind "the Islands of the Blessed" described by Hesiod,⁶ Pindar,⁷ and Horace.⁸ They were perhaps an echo of tales told by mariners who had reached the Canary Islands. The war-broken Sertorius

¹ Hyginus, *Fab.* 149-150; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 4.

² Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People* (London, 1914), p. 130.

³ Note on *Fasti*, iv. 945 (Vol. III. pp. 417 sq.). ⁴ Livy, x. 47. 3.

⁵ Homer, *Od.* xi. 281 sqq.; Apollodorus, i. 9. 9, iii. 5. 7; Pausanias, ii. 21. 9, v. 16. 4, ix. 36. 8, x. 29. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 10.

⁶ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 170 sqq.

⁷ Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 68 sqq.

⁸ Horace, *Epod.* xvi. 41 sqq.

heard of these Happy Isles and longed to sail away to them and be at rest.¹ But fate had not in store for him that peaceful end.

V. 203. **Boreas had given his brother full right of rape.**—Boreas, the north wind, was said to have carried off Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, from the banks of the Ilissus, where she was playing.² Hence Zephyr, the west wind, might plead his brother's example as an excuse for carrying off Flora.

V. 223. **I was the first to make a flower out of Therapnaean blood.**—The flower popularly called a hyacinth was said to have sprung from the blood of a fair youth named Hyacinth slain accidentally by Apollo, and to bear inscribed on its petals the letters AI meaning "Alas!" It is "that sanguine flower inscribed with woe" alluded to by Milton, who may have had in his mind the present passage of Ovid or more probably the corresponding but fuller passage in the *Metamorphoses*.³ But the true flower seems to be a small purple iris, on which marks resembling AI can be clearly traced.⁴ Ovid's phrase, "Therapnaean blood" is equivalent to "Spartan blood", for Therapne was a town near Sparta,⁵ and Hyacinth was, in this local sense, a Spartan, though in fact he seems to have been an ancient god of the Minoan period whom the Dorian invaders degraded to the rank of a hero and subordinated to their own Apollo.⁶ His tomb was shown under the colossal image of Apollo at Amyclae, and there sacrifices were offered to him, as to a hero, through a bronze door.⁷

V. 225. **Thou, too, Narcissus, hast a name in the trim gardens.**—Narcissus is said to have been a fair youth who died for love of his own image reflected in a pool; after death he was turned into the flower which bears his name.⁸

V. 227. **What need to tell of Crocus, and Attis, and the**

¹ Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 8 sq.

² Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 B, C; Pausanias, i. 19. 5; Apollonius Rhodius, i. 212-215; Apollodorus, iii. 15. 1 and 2; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 677-713.

³ Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 162-219. Milton's phrase occurs in *Lycidas*, line 106.

⁴ *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 313 sq.

⁵ Pausanias, iii. 19. 9, iii. 20. 1.

⁶ Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), pp. 485-487.

⁷ Pausanias, iii. 19. 3.

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 402-510.

son of Cinyras, from whose wounds by my art doth beauty spring.—Crocus was another fair youth who was said to have been turned into the flower which bears his name.¹

Violets were thought to have sprung from the blood which flowed from the wound that Attis gave himself under the pine-tree; hence on the days commemorative of his passion it was customary to wreath with violets the pine-tree that was brought into the city.² Hence that day was known as the Day of the Violets.³

"The son of Cinyras" is Adonis, killed by a boar on Mount Lebanon. The red anemone is said to have sprung from his blood or to have been stained crimson by it.⁴ Various tales were told of the parentage of Adonis, but according to the usual account he was a son of Cinyras, king of Paphos in Cyprus.⁵

V. 229. Mars, too, was brought to the birth by my contrivance.—The following story of the birth of Mars appears not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer. According to Homer, Ares (Mars) was the son of Zeus (Jupiter) and Hera (Juno) by the usual process of generation.⁶ But according to Hesiod,⁷ Hera (Juno) gave birth to Hephaestus (Vulcan) without intercourse with her husband Zeus (Jupiter), with whom she had quarrelled. Similar tales of children borne by goddesses or women without the help of the other sex abound in the myths and folk-tales of many peoples. Many of them were collected by the late eminent student of folk-lore, Mr. E. S. Hartland.⁸ Among the Baganda of Central Africa it is, or used to be, believed that women can conceive through contact with the bloom of the banana.⁹ In the Senegal and Niger region of West Africa it is said to be commonly supposed by women that

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 283; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 182.

² Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 7 and 16.

³ See note on *Fasti*, ii. 533 (Vol. II. p. 434).

⁴ Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 710-739; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 72; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831.

⁵ Apollodorus, iii. 14. 3 sq., with my note.

⁶ Homer, *Il.* v. 890-896.

⁷ Hesiod, *Theog.* 927-929.

⁸ In his learned work *The Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894-1896). See also his *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909-1910), i. 17 sq., 30 sqq. Compare H. Usener, "Italische Mythen," *Kleine Schriften*, iv. (Berlin, 1913) pp. 129 sqq.

⁹ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 47 sq.

they can conceive without any carnal knowledge of a man.¹

V. 231. **Minerva was born without a mother.**—This miraculous birth has already been described by Ovid.²

V. 251. **A flower that was sent me from the fields of Olenus.**—There were several towns called Olenus in Greece; one of them was in Aetolia.³ There was another Olenus in Achaia which was famous in poetry for the reception which Dexamenus, its king, gave to Hercules. But in the second century of our era the town, which had never been large, lay deserted and in ruins.⁴ It is not known to which town Ovid here refers, or why he does so.

V. 281. **hence the name for money itself.**—This derivation of the Latin *pecunia*, "money", from *pecus*, "cattle", has the support of Varro⁵ and Festus,⁶ and is no doubt correct.⁷ In early times cattle was often the standard by which wealth was estimated. The evidence was collected by Sir William Ridgeway.⁸ According to Varro, the oldest copper money minted at Rome was stamped with the figure of an ox.⁹ Pliny derived the name *pecunia*, "money", rather from the stamp on the coin than from the cattle itself.¹⁰ There are still extant heavy oblong ingots of bronze, stamped with the full figure of a bull, which seem to have been issued at Rome and in other parts of Italy as late as the third century B.C., but their exact use is unknown.¹¹

V. 283. **it had become a custom to graze the public pastures.**—Part of the public land owned by the Roman State consisted of woodland pastures (*saltus*).¹² Private

¹ M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (Paris, 1912), iii. 171.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 841 sq.

³ Homer, *Il.* ii. 638 sq.

⁴ Pausanias, vii. 18. 1, vii. 22. 1.

⁵ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 92.

⁶ Festus, s.v. "Peculatus", pp. 232, 233 ed. Lindsay.

⁷ Compare Joannes Lydus, *De magistratibus*, i. 21, p. 137 ed. Bekker.

⁸ (Sir) William Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 23 sqq.

⁹ Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 1. 9, "Aes antiquissimum quod est flatum pecore est notatum".

¹⁰ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 43.

¹¹ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. pp. 1-3; G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London, 1899), pp. 45 sq., with fig. 10; *Guide to the Exhibition of Roman Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1927), p. 2; H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1928), pp. 8 sq.

¹² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 36; Festus, s.v. "Saltum", pp. 392, 394 ed. Lindsay.

persons were allowed to turn out their cattle to graze on these public pasture lands on condition of paying a certain tax to the treasury and registering their names, with the necessary particulars, in the books kept by the farmers of the revenue. Hence such public pasture-land was called *scriptuarius* or "registered",¹ and the tax itself was called *scriptura*, "register".² To pasture unregistered cattle (*inscriptum pecus*) on the public land was a legal offence, it was a fraud on the revenue.³ By the Licinian Law of 367 B.C. it was enacted that no one should pasture more than 100 cattle and 500 sheep on the public land, but this law was flagrantly violated.⁴ From the present passage of Ovid we gather that such frauds on the public revenue at one time became common or even habitual, many persons either pasturing more cattle on the public land than the law allowed, or failing to register, and hence to pay for, the flocks and herds which they might legally turn out to graze. The magistrates charged with the enforcement of the law were the plebeian aediles, and from time to time they fined the culprits and expended the money so obtained for public purposes. Thus in 296 B.C. they celebrated games and dedicated golden bowls to Ceres out of the produce of the fines.⁵ In 293 B.C. they celebrated games and paved the road to Bovillae out of the money exacted from the fraudulent cattle-owners (*pecuarii*).⁶ In 194 B.C. the fines obtained from the same source were used by the aediles to build a temple of Faunus in the island of the Tiber at Rome;⁷ and in the next year many defaulters of the same sort were condemned, and out of the fines inflicted on them golden shields were made and set on the pediment of the temple of Jupiter.⁸

V. 292. the winners of the suit instituted new games.—The games of Flora (the *Floralia*) were instituted in the year 516 A.U.C. (238 B.C.), according to Pliny.⁹

¹ Festus, s.v. "Scriptuarius", p. 446 ed. Lindsay.

² Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei*, 6. 15; Plautus, *Truculentus*, i. 2. 42-45.

³ Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, ii. 1. 16.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 1. 8; compare Livy, vi. 35 and 42, as to the Licinian Law. See further W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, pp. 158, 228 sq., 234.

⁵ Livy, x. 23. 13.

⁶ Livy, x. 47. 4.

⁷ Livy, xxxiii. 42. 10, xxxiv. 53. 3 sq.

⁸ Livy, xxxv. 10. 12.

⁹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 286. Compare Velleius Paterculus, i. 14. 8. As to the games see note on *Fasti*, iv. 945 (Vol. III. pp. 417 sq.).

V. 294. **they call it the Publician road.**—The road was called the Publician Slope (*Clivus Publicius*) and was intended to facilitate the traffic of vehicles up the Aventine. The names of the aediles who exacted the fine from the defaulting cattle-owners (*pecuarii*) and constructed the road out of the money were Lucius and Manlius Publicius Malleolus.¹

In the second Punic war, when Hannibal had encamped three miles from Rome and ridden up with his cavalry to the Colline Gate, it chanced that a body of Numidian horse, who had deserted from the Carthaginian army, was stationed on the Aventine, at the opposite side of the city. The consuls ordered them to march through the streets and support the Roman cavalry, then engaged with the enemy outside the walls. But no sooner did the people see the squadrons of dusky warriors galloping down the Publician Slope than they took them for the foe, and the cry went up that the Aventine was in the hands of the enemy. There was a general panic: people fled helter-skelter to the house-tops, and it was long before the tumult subsided.² In the year 203 B.C. the buildings which lined the Publician Slope were burned to the ground in a great fire.³ The distribution of water from the Appian aqueduct began at the foot of the Publician Slope, beside the Triple Gate (*Porta Trigemina*).⁴ Down to Imperial times the street continued to be the main avenue of approach to the Aventine. Its exact course is uncertain. According to Huelsen, it began near the Forum Boarium and ascended the north-eastern slope of the hill to the temple of Diana. The temple of Flora probably stood at its lower end.⁵

V. 295. **I had thought that the shows were annual; the goddess denied it.**—Though the games of Flora were first

¹ Festus, s.v. "Publicius clivus", p. 276 ed. Lindsay (Festus wrongly describes the Publicii as curule aediles); Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 158 (who rightly describes them as plebeian aediles).

² Livy, xxvi. 10.

³ Livy, xxx. 26. 5.

⁴ Frontinus, *De aquis urbis Romae*, i. 5 and 22.

⁵ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 153-156. Compare A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 95 sqq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, pp. 413 sq.

instituted in 238 B.C., they did not begin to be regularly celebrated every year until 173 B.C.¹

V. 300. **a sacrificial victim has been a sop for crimes.**—Ovid seems to have had in mind a passage of Homer in which it is said that sinners can turn the gods from their purpose by sacrifice and prayer.²

V. 305. **Remember Thestiades.**—Thestiades is Meleager, son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, by his wife Althaea, daughter of Thestius: the name Thestiades was thus derived from his maternal grandfather. At his birth the Fates foretold that he would die when a certain brand, then burning on the hearth, should be consumed. His mother snatched the brand from the hearth, and the child grew up to be a gallant man and a great hunter. But in a quarrel about the skin of the great boar, which had ravaged the fields of Calydon, he slew his two maternal uncles, the sons of Thestius, and his mother, in anger at the murder of her brothers, threw into the fire the brand on which her son's life depended. Immediately, though he was far away, Meleager felt his vitals consumed by a scorching fire, and when the brand was burnt to ashes he expired. The boar had been sent by Diana (Artemis) against Calydon because Oeneus, the father of Meleager, had not offered to her the first-fruits of his harvest at the time when he was sacrificing hecatombs to the other gods. It is to illustrate the jealousy of the gods, and their readiness to avenge slights put on them by mortals, that Ovid alludes to the well-known tale. Elsewhere he relates the story at full length.³ Homer tells the tale of Meleager and the boar, but says nothing of the burning brand and the death of Meleager.⁴ The story of the brand and of Meleager's death was the subject of a tragedy by the early Athenian dramatist Phrynichus, as we learn from Pausanias, who tells us that

¹ See below, Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 329 sq., with the note; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 197.

² Homer, *Il.* ix. 497 sqq.

³ Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 270-525. Compare Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 136 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34; Apollodorus, i. 8. 2 sq.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 171, 174; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* ix. 531 sqq.

Phrynichus did not invent the story, but merely adopted a tale current all over Greece.¹

The narrative, indeed, belongs to a type of folk-tale, widespread in the world, which assumes that a person's life or soul may be deposited in some external object, on the existence of which his own is consequently dependent.² It seems probable that tales of this sort are based on an old practice of attempting to transfer a person's life or soul to some external object in which it is supposed to be safer than in his own body, so that, while the precious object remains intact, the person cannot die. Such a practice is reported to exist at the present day among the Bakaonde, a tribe of Northern Rhodesia. We are told that among these people the life or soul is identified with the shadow (*chimvule*). "Sometimes a man, who wants to live for a very long time, decides to 'bottle' his shadow (*chimvule*) and takes it—I cannot discover how, but it does not need a witch-doctor's assistance: either the man does it for himself, or asks the help of a *mulunda* (blood-brother)—and puts it into an antelope horn. Then he hides it somewhere, *e.g.* in a hole in the ground, believing that, if his shadow be safe, he cannot die. This is a risky undertaking, however, as, if the horn gets destroyed, lost or stolen, the man has then lost his shadow, and will die within the year."³ A similar belief and practice appears to prevail among the Alunda, another tribe of Northern Rhodesia. They, too, conceive life (*wumi*) as a shadow (*mwevulu*). "It is possible to *sweka wumi mu chitumbu* (to hide one's 'life' in a medicine) so that one's enemies may not destroy it by witchcraft or other means. Some 'doctors' have a recipe for this: the 'life' is drawn from the body and placed into a *mbachi* (= shell, usually of a crab) and can be given to a dog or other animal to eat, or can be hidden in a convenient spot."⁴

V. 307. **Remember Tantalides.**—Tantalides is Agamemnon, who was a son of Atreus, who was a son of Pelops, who

¹ Pausanias, x. 31. 4.

² *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 94 *sqq.*

³ F. H. Melland, *In Witchbound Africa* (London, 1923), p. 132.

⁴ J. L. Keith, in F. H. Melland, *op. cit.* p. 165.

was a son of Tantalus.¹ Elsewhere² Ovid refers to him by the same patronymic. Here he alludes to the story how Artemis, offended at the presumption of Agamemnon, detained the Greek fleet at Aulis until the king appeased her anger by a sacrifice of a doe, which the goddess graciously accepted as a substitute for his daughter Iphigenia.³

V. 309. **Unhappy Hippolytus . . . thy scared steeds were rending thee asunder.**—The death of Hippolytus is alluded to or described by Ovid elsewhere in the present work.⁴ Dione is Venus (Aphrodite), whom Hippolytus offended by spurning the love of women.⁵ The goddess has already been mentioned under this name by the poet.⁶

V. 329. **The Consuls Laenas and Postumius celebrated the games.**—The consuls of the year 173 B.C., after which the games took place annually, were Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popillius Laenas.⁷ A denarius issued by C. Servilius about 64 B.C. bears on the obverse the head of Flora with the legend *Floral(ia) primus (fecit)*. Mommsen conjectured that this legend refers to the first regular celebration of the games of Flora in 173 B.C., and that one of the two aediles who celebrated the games in that year may have been a C. Servilius, son of the C. Servilius who was consul in 203 B.C. The head of Flora on the coin is crowned with laurel and flowers.⁸

V. 331. **why these games are marked by greater wantonness.**—The licence allowed at the Floralia, especially on the stage, has already been noticed by Ovid.⁹ Martial alludes to it repeatedly.¹⁰

V. 345. **that he delights in a floral crown, you may know from Ariadne's constellation.**—The poet has already told the story of Ariadne at length in another passage,¹¹ where, however, he speaks of her crown as a crown of gems, not of

¹ Hyginus, *Fab.* 82, 83, 86, 88.

² Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 626, *Amores*, ii. 8. 13.

³ Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 21 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 24-38; Hyginus, *Fab.* 98. The story is the theme of Euripides's tragedy, *Iphigenia in Aulis*.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 265 sq., vi. 737 sqq.

⁵ Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1 sqq.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 461.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i. 3 p. 144.

⁸ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 451 sq.

⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 946.

¹⁰ Martial, Bk. I. preface, and i. 35. 8 sq.

¹¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 459-515.

flowers. Similarly elsewhere he tells how, as the crown floated through the air, its jewels were turned to radiant stars.¹

V. 351. **who make great professions.**—The Latin is *magna professis*. Elsewhere Ovid has *multa professarum*,² and Horace has *professus grandia*.³

V. 355. **white robes are given out at the festival of Ceres.**—Ovid has already referred to the white robes worn in the rites of Ceres.⁴

V. 361. **There yet remained the lights.**—These lights were perhaps used in the theatre at night. In Dio Cassius we read how at the Floralia a certain wag caused the people returning from the theatre to be lighted by link-boys with shaven crowns, in pointed allusion to the bald-headed Emperor Tiberius then on the throne. The Emperor good-naturedly overlooked the jests.⁵

V. 371. **Why, instead of Libyan lionesses, are unwarlike roes and timid hares enclosed in thy nets?**—The hunting of wild animals in the arena at Flora's festival is alluded to by Martial,⁶ but he does not mention the kinds of creatures that were thus done to death to amuse the populace.

V. 379. **the semi-human Chiron . . . will put forth his stars.**—By Chiron the poet means the constellation of the Centaur. Columella agrees with Ovid as to the date, observing that on the third of May "the whole of the Centaur appears and signifies a storm".⁷ In point of fact, the true evening rising of one of the last stars of that constellation visible at Rome (ε in the belly of the horse) falls on the day mentioned by Ovid and Columella. The apparent evening rising of the star fell on the fifteenth of April.⁸

V. 381. **a mountain of Haemonia.**—Haemonia is an old name for Thessaly.⁹ The poet employs it in the same sense

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 176-182.

² Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 28.

³ Dio Cassius, lvi. 19. 1 sq.

⁴ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 39.

⁵ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 165 sq. Ideler thought that Ovid dated the rising of the Centaur on May 4, but the poet's words ("*nocte minus quarta*") are more naturally interpreted to mean May 3.

⁶ Strabo, ix. 5. 23, pp. 443-444; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 28; Solinus, viii. 1.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 866.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 619 sq.

⁶ Martial, viii. 67. 4.

elsewhere,¹ and he very often uses the adjective Haemonian for Thessalian.²

V. 383. **It was the home of Philyra's son.**³—It is said that while Cronus (Saturn) still reigned in heaven, he had a love affair with Philyra, daughter of Ocean, but being detected by his wife Rhea he turned himself into a horse to escape the reproaches of his jealous spouse, and in that guise fled whinnying to the mountains. As the fruit of their union, Philyra gave birth to the centaur Chiron, half man, half horse.⁴ Hence Chiron is called Phillyrides by Hesiod,⁵ Pindar,⁶ Apollonius Rhodius,⁷ and Ovid,⁸ the *l* in the name being doubled for the sake of the metre. The following story of the death of Chiron and his transformation into the constellation of the Centaur is similarly told, though without poetical embellishment, by Eratosthenes,⁹ Hyginus,⁹ and the scholiast on Caesar Germanicus.¹⁰ It is briefly alluded to by Ovid elsewhere¹¹ in a passage where Chariclo, the centaur's prophetic daughter, predicts that her father, though born immortal, will long for death when he shall be tortured by the hydra's poisonous blood, and that the gods will grant his wish to die. The same story is told in a slightly different form by Apollodorus.¹² According to him, Hercules in his search for the Erymanthian boar came to Mount Pholoe in Arcadia, where he was entertained by the centaur Pholus in his cave. When Hercules called for wine, his host reluctantly opened a jar of very fine wine, which belonged to the centaurs in common. Attracted by the smell of the wine the centaurs gathered at the mouth of the cave, armed with rocks and firs. But Hercules repelled them, shot some, and drove the rest

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 568, ii. 543, viii. 813, xi. 652, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 75.

² Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 81, 599, v. 306, vii. 132, 159, 314, xi. 409, xii. 81, 213, *Fasti*, v. 400, *Heroides*, vi. 23, xii. 127, xiii. 2 ("Haemonis Haemonio"), xvii. 248.

³ Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 1231-1241; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 91-93, with the note of Servius, on line 93; Hyginus, *Fab.* 138; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 126; Apollodorus, i. 2. 4; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 554; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1200.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 1002.

⁵ Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 1, ix. 30.

⁶ Apollonius Rhodius, i. 554.

⁷ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 11, and in the present passage.

⁸ Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 40.

⁹ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 38.

¹⁰ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 417, p. 419 cd. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

¹¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 649-654.

¹² Apollodorus, ii. 5. 4 and 11.

as far as Malea. There the centaurs sought refuge in the cave of Chiron; for, driven by the Lapiths from Mount Pelion, Chiron had taken up his abode in Malea. As they cowered about Chiron for protection, Hercules shot an arrow at them, which stuck in the knee of Chiron. Distressed at the accident, Hercules ran up to the stricken centaur, drew out the shaft, and applied a medicine which Chiron gave him. But the wound proving incurable, Chiron retired to the cave and longed for death; but die he could not, because he was born immortal. However, Prometheus offered himself to Zeus to be immortal in his stead, so Chiron died. Meantime Pholus, examining the corpse of one of the centaurs shot by Hercules, drew out the arrow, wondering that so little a thing could kill so big a fellow; but the arrow slipped from his hand and lighting on his foot killed him on the spot. So when Hercules returned to Pholoe from Malea, he found Pholus dead, and he buried him. The same story is told more briefly by Diodorus Siculus.¹ He, too, represents Hercules as slaying Chiron accidentally with an arrow-shot, and Pholus as mortally wounded by an arrow which he had drawn from the dead body of a centaur. Similarly Servius says that while Pholus was wondering at the arrows with which Hercules had slain so many centaurs, one of the arrows fell on his foot, inflicting an incurable wound.² The story was also known to Tzetzes:³ he, too, tells how Hercules was entertained by the centaur Pholus in Pholoe, how the other centaurs were attracted by the scent of the wine, and how Hercules killed some of them with his arrows and shot Chiron accidentally in the knee; but he does not mention the death of Pholus. Thus it appears that the picturesque story of death inflicted by an arrow dropped accidentally on the foot was told sometimes of the centaur Chiron and sometimes of the centaur Pholus. Ovid, Eratosthenes, Hyginus, and the scholiast on Caesar Germanicus followed the former of these versions; Apollodorus, Diodorus Siculus, Servius, and apparently Tzetzes followed the latter version. The entertainment of Hercules by the centaur Pholus is alluded to by Lucan.⁴ The battle of Hercules with the centaurs at the cave

¹ Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 8.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 294.

³ Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 670.

⁴ Lucan, vi. 391.

of Pholus was represented in the reliefs on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae,¹ and it is the subject of vase-paintings.²

V. 390. **the boyish descendant of Aeacus.**—"The boyish descendant of Aeacus" is Achilles, who was the son of Peleus and grandson of Aeacus. It is said that in his childhood Achilles was brought by his father Peleus to the centaur Chiron, who fed him on the inwards of lions and wild boars and the marrows of bears, no doubt, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to impart to him the strength and ferocity of these animals.³ Achilles also learned from Chiron the art of healing by means of simples,⁴ in which Chiron was a past-master; indeed, he was reputed to be the inventor of medicine, so far at least as it rests on a knowledge of simples.⁵ Aesculapius himself, who in later ages rose to the dignity of the god of medicine, was thought to have learned the art from Chiron, to whose care his father Apollo entrusted him in his infancy.⁶ That both Aesculapius and Achilles were educated by Chiron is mentioned by Eratosthenes⁷ and Hyginus.⁸ Homer says that Chiron was the most righteous of the centaurs;⁹ later writers affirmed that Chiron surpassed not only the other centaurs but even men in justice.¹⁰ Elsewhere¹¹ Ovid tells us, what he mentions in the present passage (lines 385-386), that Achilles learned from Chiron the art of playing on the lyre and held out his hands for corporal punishment when his music-master was dissatisfied with his performance. By Alcides (lines 387, 400) and "the son of Jupiter" (line 390) our author means Hercules, and he calls Hercules one of the two masters of the fate of Troy, because in anger at Laomedon, king of Troy, who had broken faith with him, Hercules stormed and captured the city and put Laomedon to death.¹² Achilles is here described by Ovid

¹ Pausanias, iii. 18. 10.

² Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1873, pp. 90 *sqq.*

³ Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6, with my note.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* xi. 830-832.

⁵ Hyginus, *Fab.* 274.

⁶ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 1-7, 43-46.

⁷ Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 40.

⁸ Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 38.

⁹ Homer, *Il.* xi. 832.

¹⁰ Eratosthenes and Hyginus, *Il. cc.*

¹¹ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 11-16.

¹² Homer, *Il.* v. 640-643, 648-651; Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 27 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 32; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 9, ii. 6. 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 34; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 211-217.

as the other master of the fate of Troy, not because he captured the city, which he never did, but because the prophet Calchas declared that Troy could not be taken without him.¹

V. 401. **herbs gathered on the Pagasaeon hills.**—Pagasae was a port of Thessaly, and Pagasaeon is here equivalent to Thessalian. In antiquity Thessaly was famed for its medicinal plants, which were used in magic as well as in medicine.² This may have been one of the reasons why Thessaly was notorious as a land of witches and witchcraft.³ In particular, Thessalian witches were supposed to be able to draw down the moon by their enchantments.⁴

V. 403. **The blood of the Lernaean hydra.**—Hercules is said to have poisoned his arrows with the gall of the Lernaean hydra, which he slew.⁵ The tradition may be due to early contact with savage tribes who used poisoned arrows. In historical times neither the Greeks nor the Romans employed such barbarous and cruel weapons in war. But the Getae and other barbarians in the neighbourhood of Tomi made much use of poisoned arrows. In his poetical epistles from Tomi the banished Ovid again and again speaks of these dangerous shafts, which often fell within the walls of the town. According to him, the heads of the arrows were dipped in the gall of vipers.⁶

V. 413. **thou, most righteous Chiron, didst gird thy body with twice seven stars.**—The number of the stars in the constellation of the Centaur is variously given by ancient writers.⁷ Ovid appears to have put the number of the stars

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 13. 8.

² Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 220 sqq.

³ Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* iv. 1; *id.*, *Asinus sive Lucius*, 4; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* ii. 1; Horace, *Odes*, i. 27. 21, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209; Ovid, *Amores*, i. 14. 39 sq., iii. 7. 27 sq.

⁴ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 749 sq.; Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 513 A; Apostolius, *Cent.* vii. 81 (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, ii. 417 sq.); Horace, *Epod.* v. 45 sq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 7, referring to a play of Menander on the subject.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 6; Pausanias, ii. 37. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

⁶ Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 10. 63 sq., iv. 1. 77, 84, v. 7. 16, "*telaque vipereo lurida felle ferat*", *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 16 ("*omnia vipereo spicula felle linunt*"), iii. 1. 26, iv. 7. 11 sq., 36, iv. 9. 83 ("*sintne litae tenues serpentis felle sagittae*"), iv. 10. 31.

⁷ Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 40; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 417 (p. 419 ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

much too low ; at the lowest reckoning the constellation is said to number twenty-three stars.¹ According to the scholiast on Caesar Germanicus their number was fifty-three.

V. 415. *The curved Lyre would wish to follow the Centaur.*—Having dated the evening rising of the Centaur on May 3, Ovid now intimates that the Lyre rises on the third night afterwards, so that, allowing for the inclusive reckoning of the ancients in the use of ordinal numbers, it follows that in Ovid's calculation the constellation of the Lyre rose at evening on May 5. Columella² dated the evening rising of the Lyre on April 23, which is exact or nearly so for the true evening rising of the constellation ; the apparent evening rising fell eight days earlier. Thus in placing the evening rising of the Lyre on May 5, Ovid was twelve or thirteen days too late in his reckoning on the most favourable interpretation. Caesar in his calendar seems to have gone still further astray, placing the rising of the Lyre on May 13.³

V. 417. *The Scorpion will be visible from its middle in the sky.*—Ovid has already mentioned the morning rising of the constellation of the Scorpion.⁴ In the present passage the poet seems to refer to the morning setting of the Scorpion, which he dates on May 6. Similarly Columella says that the middle of the Scorpion sets on May 6 and signifies stormy weather.⁵ The Scorpion is a large constellation with many stars in it. In Ovid's time the true morning setting of the brightest star in the constellation fell on April 26, and the apparent morning setting on May 13 ; thus the statement of Ovid and Columella is true neither of the one nor of the other. But if we take Antares as the middle star of the Scorpion, then May 6 will fall for Rome midway between the days of its true and its apparent setting

¹ H. Peter, in his edition of the *Fasti*³ (Leipzig, 1889), Zweite Abteilung, p. 81.

² Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 36.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 255. See Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 146.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 711 sq., with the note.

⁵ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 39.

in the morning. The Latin authors may have been led into error by following Greek calendars.¹

V. 421. **there will be celebrated an ancient rite, the Lemuria.**—The festival of the Lemuria is marked as LEM(URIA) in the Venusian and Maffician calendars on May 9, 11, and 13; in the Tusculan calendar it is marked on the two last of these three days.² These entries appear to show that the festival was a public one; but no record of a public or official propitiation of the dead on these days has come down to us. The ritual described by Ovid in the following passage is clearly a private and domestic one. The public worship of the dead, the Feralia, took place in February.³ Ovid supposes that the rites in May were more ancient than those in February, and in this he may possibly be right, though we have no means of verifying the hypothesis. Certainly the quaint simplicity of the May ritual speaks in favour of its high antiquity. Ovid is almost our only authority on the subject, though his account is confirmed by the brief statement of Festus that beans were thrown to the ghosts (*larvae*) at the Lemuria,⁴ and again by a fuller notice of Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, who, after defining *lemures* as “nocturnal apparitions (*larvae*) and terrors of images and beasts”, proceeds thus: “Varro, *Concerning the Life of the Roman People*, Book I.: ‘At which seasons in the sacred rites they throw a bean by night and say that they eject the ghostly folk (*Lemurios*) from the house and the doorway’.”⁵ The word “images” (*imagines*) in this passage of Nonius Marcellus is clearly used in the sense of “human ghost”. Ovid employs the word *imago* in this sense below (lines 463, 477), and so did Virgil⁶ and Horace⁷ before him. Both *imago* and *idolon* are used in this sense by the younger Pliny

¹ Ideler, “Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid,” *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 159 sq.

² C.I.L. i.² p. 318.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 533 sqq., with the notes.

⁴ Festus, s.v. “Faba”, p. 77 ed. Lindsay, “*Nam et Lemuralibus iacitur (faba) larvis*”.

⁵ Nonius Marcellus, s.v. “Lemures”, p. 135 ed. Mercer, vol. i. p. 197 ed. Lindsay. “*Lemures, larvae nocturnae et terrificationes imaginum et bestiarum. Varro de Vita Populi Romani lib. I.: ‘quibus temporibus in sacris fabam iactant noctu ac dicunt se Lemurios domo extra ianuam eicere’.*”

⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 480, 701.

⁷ Horace, *Odes*, i. 24. 15.

in his famous story of the Athenian ghost who rattled his chains and revealed a buried skeleton.¹ The *lemures*, who gave their name to the Lemuria, were the wandering spirits of the dead, conceived especially as mischievous and dangerous to the living. In this sense the word seems nearly equivalent to *larvae*.² Hence madness was attributed to the terror caused by ghosts, and madmen were described as *larvati*.³ Apuleius, indeed, endeavoured to distinguish between the three Latin words for the spirits of the dead, *lemures*, *larvae*, and *manes*,⁴ but the distinction between *lemures* and *larvae* is hardly tenable, whereas *manes* is so far distinct from the other two that it seems generally to signify the beneficent and worshipful rather than the maleficent and dangerous spirits of the dead.⁵

However, the term *manes* could also be applied to an angry ghost thirsting for vengeance on such as had wronged him when he was in the body. Thus it is on record that the ghost (*manes*) of the slain Virginia roamed about from house to house and never rested till all the accomplices of her violent death had been brought to justice.⁶ So, too, it is said that, on the night after Galba had been assassinated, the guilty Otho, who had ordered the deed of blood, was visited by a fearful dream, in which he thought that the ghost (*manes*) of the murdered emperor appeared to him and drove him from the place he had usurped.⁷ Ovid seems to regard *lemures* and *manes* as synonymous, since in his account of the Lemuria he repeatedly applies the name *manes* to the spirits of the dead which were worshipped on this occasion (lines 422, 443), and he expressly defines (line 483) *lemures* as "the souls of the

¹ Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 27. 5-6.

² Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209, with Porphyry's note, p. 343 ed. G. Meyer; Persius, *Sat.* v. 185; Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 15; Martianus Capella, ii. 162-163; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ix. 11; and for examples of *larvae* used in the sense of ghosts that haunt and madden men see Plautus, *Aulularia*, 642, *Captivi*, 598; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* ix. 29; Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 11. 17.

³ Festus, s.v. "Larvati," p. 106 ed. Lindsay; Nonius Marcellus, s.v. "Cerriti et Larvati," p. 44 ed. Mercer, vol. i. p. 64 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 15.

⁵ Compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 108 sq.

⁶ Livy, iii. 58. 11.

⁷ Suetonius, *Otho*, 7. 2.

Silent Ones", that is, of the dead. Further, the equivalence of *lemures* and *larvae* is indicated by the statement of Festus¹ that at the Lemuria beans were thrown to the *larvae*.

But the ghosts who visited the houses on the three days of the festival (below, lines 491-492) were not the spirits of strangers who availed themselves of the open doors to obtrude their unwelcome presence on the privacy of the domestic circle; they were the spirits of kinsfolk departed this life, as plainly appears from the farewell (line 443) which the householder addressed to them at ushering them out of the door, "Ghosts of my fathers (*manes paterni*), go forth!" From this it appears that the three days of the Lemuria were All Souls' Days, on which the spirits of the dead were supposed to revisit their old homes: they were received with a mixture of reverence and fear, and after they had picked up the black beans thrown to them, they were politely, but firmly, turned out of doors.

The meaning of throwing beans to them is clearly explained by the words which accompanied the simple offering. The householder said (line 438), "With these beans I redeem me and mine". This can only signify that the ghosts were supposed to accept the beans as substitutes for the living members of the family, whom otherwise they would have carried off. The supposition is entirely in harmony with a belief, very widespread among the lower races, that the spirits of the dead, either envious of the living or feeling lonesome in the other world, seek to draw away the souls of their kinsfolk to keep them company in the far country. This belief furnishes a very common explanation of death among savages. For the same reason, apparently, the Romans threw beans into graves "for the safety of men",² probably in the hope that the dead would accept the offering and leave the living alone. The reason which induced ghosts to accept beans as substitutes for human beings is not manifest; but beans were somehow supposed to belong in a special way to the dead, and for that reason the Flamen

¹ Festus, s.v. "Faba", p. 77 Lindsay. See above, p. 36, note 4.

² Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 42, p. 100 ed. Wuensch, εἰς τοὺς τάφους κύαμοι ῥίπτονται ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων.

Dialis might neither touch nor name them,¹ much less might he eat them;² his sanctity, which was hedged about with many curious taboos,³ would have been profaned by any contact, direct or indirect, with the dead, and for the same reason he might not touch a corpse nor any place where the dead were burned.⁴ One reason assigned by the ancients for the use of beans in offerings to the departed was that the souls of the dead were supposed to be in them, and this was thought by some to be why the Pythagoreans abstained from eating beans.⁵ Many curious superstitions were current in antiquity concerning beans, but their origin and significance it is no longer possible to unravel.⁶

The ancients themselves were puzzled by the ban laid by Pythagoras on beans, and they sought to explain it by various more or less fantastic theories. Of these perhaps the least improbable was the view that beans, by causing flatulence and indigestion, derange the mind to the extent of producing troubled dreams so that the dreamer cannot attain to those higher truths which the ancients believed to be revealed by the gods to men in sleep.⁷ Hence the old diviner Amphiaraus is said to have been the first to abstain from eating beans, "on account of divination by dreams".⁸ Now if beans were really held to cause bad dreams, this would have been with many people in antiquity a perfectly sufficient reason for eschewing them as articles of diet; for the same persons who believed that true and good dreams came from the gods would consequently imagine that false and bad dreams came from evil spirits or ghosts, and they would naturally shun a food which brought them under the influence of these

¹ Festus, s.v. "Fabam", p. 77 ed. Lindsay.

² Varro, quoted by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 118.

³ Aulus Gellius, x. 15.

⁴ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 24.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 119. As to the abstinence compare Diogenes Laertius, viii. 34; Jamblichus, *Protrept.* 21, p. 316 ed. Kiessling; *id.*, *De vit. Pythagor.* xxiv. 109; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium Haeresium*, vi. 27, p. 268 ed. Duncker et Schneidewin; Lucian, *Gallus*, 4; *id.*, *Dial. Mort.* xx. 3; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 42, pp. 99, 100 ed. Wuensch; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 30. 62.

⁶ Compare my note on Pausanias, viii. 15. 4 (vol. iv. pp. 240 sq.).

⁷ Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ii. 127; *Geoponica*, ii. 35; Apollonius, *Histor. Mirab.* 46, p. 114 ed. Westermann; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 10. 1; Diogenes Laertius, viii. 23; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 30. 62, ii. 18. 19.

⁸ *Geoponica*, ii. 35.

dreaded and dangerous beings. This explanation of the maxim of Pythagoras is adopted by F. Boehm in his judicious discussion of the so-called symbols of Pythagoras,¹ and it is perhaps more in accordance with primitive modes of thought and open to fewer objections than any other that has been propounded. Certainly the symbols of Pythagoras, whether they have been rightly fathered on the philosopher or not, are not the ripe fruit of philosophic thought but the crude fancies of primitive superstition ; in other words, they are undiluted folk-lore, and as such they are valuable documents for the history of the human mind and the unbroken continuity of human error ; for the best commentary on them is furnished by the beliefs and practices of the less enlightened classes in Europe at the present day.²

The Lemuria, as here described by Ovid, belonged to a type of festival which has been observed by many races in many parts of the world. It is a common notion that the spirits of the dead revisit the living on one day or on several days of the year ; they return in particular to their old homes and are received with respect by their kinsfolk, who, after entertaining them hospitably, dismiss them more or less forcibly to the Land of the Dead, where it is hoped that they will remain peaceably till the same time next year. For the souls of the dead are commonly regarded with fear as well as with reverence : they are believed to be very touchy, and capable, if offended, of afflicting the living with all kinds of misfortune. Hence their coming is a very equivocal blessing : while it is necessary to propitiate them by a show of hospitality, it is at least equally necessary to get rid of them ; hence on these occasions the expulsion of the ghosts sometimes figures more prominently than their reception, and the ceremony may assume the character of the banishment or exorcism of demons, all the more so because certain ghosts, especially the ghosts of men and women who have died by violence or in childbed, are usually deemed exceedingly dangerous and indeed little, if at all, better than devils.

¹ Fr. Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 15-17.

² I treated of the so-called symbols of Pythagoras as folk-lore pure and simple long ago in an essay, "Some Popular Superstitions of the Ancients", *Folk-lore*, i. (1890) pp. 145 sqq.

The time alike for the reception of ghosts and the expulsion of devils is commonly at the end of the year; for people are naturally anxious to rid themselves of all the evils of the old year so as to make a clean start in the new one. Elsewhere I have collected many examples both of the annual reception of ghosts and of the annual expulsion of devils.¹

For example, the Japanese, like the Romans, believe that the spirits of the dead revisit their old homes on three days of the year, with this difference, that whereas at Rome the three days were separated from each other by intervals of a day, in Japan the three days are continuous, being the 13th, 14th, and 15th of the seventh month. After sunset every family goes out of the town to meet the spirits of their returning dead, and escorts them by torchlight to the house, where they entertain the invisible guests to a banquet. On the evening of the third day, they reconduct the spirits of the dead with equal ceremony to the place where they met them; but lest some of the souls should be lingering behind, loth to part from their old homes, the relatives go about the house from room to room, beating the air with sticks to chase away the laggard ghosts.²

Similarly in Siam "the three first days of the moon of April are days of solemn festivity for the pious Siamese. That day Lucifer opens all the gates of the abyss; the souls of the dead, which are shut up there, come forth and partake of a repast in the bosom of their family. They are treated splendidly. One of these three days a monk repairs to the palace to preach before the king. At the end of the sermon a preconcerted signal is given, and in a moment the cannons are fired in all the quarters of the city to chase the devil out of the walls or to kill him, if he dares to resist. On the first day a temporary king is named, who bears the title of *phaja-phollathep*; during these three days he enjoys all the royal prerogatives, the real king remaining shut up in his palace." Such was

¹ For the former see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 51-83, "Feasts of All Souls"; for the latter see *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 123-223.

² See *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 151 sq., where the authorities are cited.

the custom reported by the French Catholic missionary, Bishop Bruguière, in 1829.¹ According to a later account, written about the end of the nineteenth century, this Siamese festival of the return of the dead falls on the first three days of April, which are at the same time the New Year holidays. Every departed soul is believed to return to the bosom of his family during these three days. Priests are stationed at intervals round the city walls chanting to drive away the evil spirits. But the time allowed to the ghostly visitors is short. On the evening of the second day, the people open fire on them with pistols, shot-guns, and rifles, and continue loading and firing till break of day, when the city (Bangkok) is effectually cleared of all spirits, good, bad, and indifferent.²

A similar expulsion of spirits takes place, or used to take place, once a year in Tonquin at or near the beginning of the year. According to the French traveller Tavernier, the ceremony is "a great solemnity in honour of the dead, who were in their lives renowned for their noble actions and valour, reckoning rebels among them"; but at the close of the ceremony the king shot five times at the spirits of rebels, whereupon the great guns were discharged and volleys of small shot fired to put the souls to flight. According to the later and fuller account of S. Baron, the spirits annually expelled at this ceremony, which was called a *theekydaw*, were "criminal devils and malevolent spirits", especially "the malicious spirits of such men as have been put to death for treason, rebellion, and conspiring the death of the king, general, or princes"; for it was supposed that, in revenge for the punishment they had received, the ghosts of these malefactors were bent on destroying everything and committing horrible havoc. Yet food was offered to them and they were invited to eat and drink. But finally they were upbraided with their crimes, and driven from the city by the fire of artillery and muskets; and the people firmly believed that all these malevolent and dangerous spirits

¹ "Lettre de Mgr. Bruguière, évêque de Capse, à M. Bousquet, vicaire-général d'Aire," *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, v. (Paris and Lyons, 1831), p. 188.

² E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe* (Westminster, 1898), pp. 135 sq.

were thus effectually put to flight.¹ These souls of executed criminals, full of spite and anger at the living, would answer perfectly to the Latin *lemures* and *larvae* in the worst sense of the words. Yet mixed with these foul fiends, if we can trust Tavernier, were the spirits of the heroic dead, who would be fitly described as *di manes* in Latin. Thus we can understand how at the ceremony of the Lemuria the ghosts who visited the houses were of various characters, and might be variously described as *lemures*, *larvae*, and *di manes*, while at the same time, as spirits of the dead, they were one and all credited with powers of mischief, which, if they inspired awe and imposed respect, at the same time rendered the continued presence of these formidable beings undesirable and their expulsion necessary.

The Roman ritual of the Lemuria, as described by Ovid, finds in some respects a curious parallel in the ritual observed by the natives of Loango, in West Africa, at a certain time of the year. At the beginning of the rainy season, when the time has come for sowing the fields, food is scarce and fever is rife. The increase of the malady is attributed to the hunger of departed souls, who roam about seeking what they may devour. The time is about the end of October or the beginning of November. At this season accordingly many a head of a family deems it necessary to protect himself and his household against the vagrant spirits of the dead. When night has fallen, he takes a quantity of salt, rubs himself with part of it, and then steps, naked and in silence, out of the house. Thereupon, with the great toes of both his feet, he draws a circle about him in the ground, and throws three pinches of salt over each shoulder alternately, and afterwards on the roof of the house. As he throws the salt he thinks, "Keep away! Come not back! Good luck to you!" He may not speak aloud, nor look round, nor be seen by anyone else; otherwise the incantation is useless or even dangerous. At the end of the ceremony he slips hastily

¹ J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes* (The Hague, 1718), iii. 230 sq.; *id.*, in J. Harris's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. i. (London, 1744), p. 823; S. Baron, "Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ix. (London, 1811) pp. 673, 695 sq.; Richard, "History of Tonquin", *ibid.* p. 746; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 147-149.

into the house. In the interior of the country, where salt is rare, earth-nuts or a species of peas (*Straucherbsen, Cajanus*) or small seeds are said to be used as a substitute for salt.¹

Further, the Roman use of beans in the expulsion of ghosts at the Lemuria finds a curious parallel in the use of beans at the expulsion of demons in Japan. On the last night of the year there is observed in most Japanese houses a ceremony called "the exorcism of the evil spirit". It is performed by the head of the family. Clad in his finest robes, he goes through all the rooms at the hour of midnight, carrying in his left hand a box of roasted beans. From time to time he dips his right hand into the box and scatters a handful of beans on a mat, pronouncing a cabalistic form of words of which the meaning is, "Go forth, demons! Enter riches!"² While the duty of expelling the demons should properly be discharged by the head of the family, it is often delegated to a servant. The performer, whether the householder or a servant, is called the Year-man, because the ceremony is observed on the last day of the year. In the Shogun's palace a specially appointed Year-man used on these occasions to scatter parched beans in all the principal rooms. These beans were picked up by the women of the palace, who wrapped as many of them in paper as they numbered years of their life, and then threw them backwards out of doors. Sometimes, too, people who had reached an unlucky year gathered the beans dropped by the Year-man, picking up one bean for each year of their age and one over; then they wrapped up the beans in paper together with a small copper coin, which had been rubbed over their body for the purpose of absorbing the ill-luck that might be adhering to their persons. Finally, the beans were put in a bamboo tube and flung away at a cross-road. The rite was called "Flinging away ill-luck".³ This Japanese custom renders it probable that in the similar Roman rite described by Ovid the beans were supposed to rid the household of ill-luck for the whole year, or at least till the next time.

¹ *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte, von Dr. E. Pechuel-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 312.

² A. Humbert, *Le Japon illustré* (Paris, 1870), ii. 326.

³ W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods* (London, 1905), pp. 308 sq. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 143 sq.

The reason why the three days of the Lemuria (May 9, 11, and 13) were not successive may have been that the intermediate days (May 10 and 12) were designated by even numbers and were therefore inauspicious; for the old Romans deemed odd numbers lucky¹ and even numbers consequently unlucky. Virgil tells us that God delights in an odd number,² and the taste of the deity in that, as in so many other particulars, coincided to a singular extent with the taste of his worshippers. The human authority quoted for this maxim was Pythagoras, who is reported to have said that an odd number should be preferred in everything.³ Numa, the pattern of religious orthodoxy honoured an odd number in everything, and that, we are told, is why he divided the month into three parts.⁴ Almost all the festivals of the ancient Roman calendar fell on odd days of the month. Indeed, out of the forty-five fixed festivals recorded in large letters in the calendars which have come down to us, all but two were celebrated on odd days of the month: the two exceptions were the Flight of the King (*Regifugium*) on February 24 and the Second Horse Festival (*Equirria*) on March 14. Further, it is to be observed that, like the Lemuria, two other of these ancient festivals occupied more than one day, and that in each the days of the festival were not successive but divided from each other, so that all the days of the festival were odd days of the month. One of these festivals was the *Carmentalia*, celebrated on January 11 and 15; the other was the *Lucaria*, celebrated on July 19 and 21.⁵

To this explanation of the reason for avoiding even days of the month in celebrating religious rites, it may be objected, in the case of the Lemuria, that the powers honoured on these three days were not gods but ghosts, and that if gods, as we know from Virgil, delighted in odd numbers, Roman

¹ Festus, s.v. "Imparem", p. 97 ed. Lindsay; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 23.

² Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 75.

³ Solinus, i. 39.

⁴ Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iii. 10, p. 43 ed. Wuensch; compare Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 5; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 25.

⁵ Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 288; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 222.

ghosts appear to have had, on the contrary, a partiality for even numbers. At least we are informed by ancient writers that, whereas the months of January and March, dedicated to two gods of the upper world, Janus and Mars, had each an odd number of days (31) February has an even number of days (28) because it was dedicated to the infernal powers,¹ among whom ghosts are naturally included. Accordingly we might have anticipated that even days of the month would naturally be chosen for the celebration of the Lemuria. But it is too much to expect that superstition should always be rigorously logical.

V. 423. **The year was formerly shorter, and the pious rites of purification (*februa*) were unknown.**—Ovid here refers to the supposed ancient year of ten months, which began in March and did not include the months of January and February.²

V. 431. **The worshipper who . . . fears the gods.**—On *timidus deorum* in this sense Peter observes that the genitive of relation is often thus attached to adjectives signifying fear.³

V. 432. **no knots constrict his feet.**—On the principle of sympathetic magic, knots are supposed to present obstacles to the performance of certain natural or ceremonial functions, such as childbirth, the consummation of marriage, and the discharge of the offices of religion. Hence it is a common rule that men and women engaged in such functions must have no knot on their persons. On the same principle a like obstructive influence is often ascribed to rings, and consequently persons engaged in certain sacred functions are forbidden to wear them.⁴ For these reasons the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to have a knot on any part of his garments and to wear a ring, unless it were broken; for were it broken the magical constriction would clearly be

¹ Solinus, i. 40; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13. 5-7; compare Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 5.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 27 sqq., with the note.

³ He compares Horace, *Ars poetica*, 28, "*timidus procellae*"; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 616, "*mens interrita leti*"; Livy, v. 11. 4, and xxxvi. 31. 5, "*trepidi rerum suarum*". We may add Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 589, "*trepidæ rerum*"; Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 21, "*trepidus admirationis et metus*".

⁴ *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 293 sqq.

annulled.¹ On similar grounds he might not touch ivy because of the clinging and constricting tendency of the plant.² Further, if a man in bonds were brought into the house of the Flamen Dialis, his bonds had to be undone and removed from the house; they might not be carried out at the door, but must be drawn up through the opening in the roof (*impluvium*) to the tiles and then lowered into the street.³ Apparently the mere presence of a bound man was thought to oppose an insuperable barrier to the discharge of the priest's office. Similarly women might not take part in the rites of Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth, if they had any knots on their dress;⁴ any knot on their garments would doubtless have been thought to impede their delivery in childbed.

V. 433. **he makes a sign with his thumb in the middle of his closed fingers.**—He clenched his fist and thrust out the tip of his thumb between the first and second fingers. This gesture was, and is, in common use in Italy, Spain, and Germany as a most powerful charm to avert the Evil Eye and other maleficent influences. In Italian it is called "the fig", *la fica* or *mano fica*. The present passage of Ovid appears to be the only one in ancient literature in which the gesture is definitely mentioned, but many amulets in this shape have come down to us; no doubt they were worn to protect the wearers against the Evil Eye.⁵

V. 441. **Again he touches water, and clashes Temesan bronze.**—Temesa was an ancient city of Bruttium, said to have been founded by the Ausonians; near it were copper mines which had ceased to be worked by the beginning of our era.⁶

¹ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 6 and 10; Festus, s.v. "Ederam", p. 72 ed. Lindsay.

² Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 12; Festus, s.v. "Ederam", p. 72 ed. Lindsay, "*Ederam flamini Diali neque tangere neque nominare fas erat, pro eo, quod edera vincit, ad quodcumque se applicat*".

³ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 8; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 57; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* III.

⁴ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 518. See note on *Fasti*, iii. 257.

⁵ O. Jahn, "Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse*, I. ii. (Leipzig, 1855) pp. 80 sq.; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), pp. 255-258. The gesture, as described by Ovid, is rightly interpreted by H. Peter (in his note on the passage) and by E. Aust (*Die Religion der Römer*, Munster i. W., 1899, p. 180).

⁶ Strabo, vi. 1. 5, pp. 255 sq.

The mines must have been very ancient, for in the *Odyssey* the goddess Athena, in the character of Mentès, speaks of sailing to Temesa for copper ;¹ however, some thought that the Homeric Temesa was in Cyprus.² Ulysses is said to have visited Temesa on his wanderings and there to have lost one of his sailors, who in a drunken bout ravished a girl and was murdered by the barbarians. But the ghost of the tipsy sailor proved so exceedingly troublesome that the people fell to worshipping him, built a temple in his honour, and gave him the prettiest girl in the town every year to be his wife. The worship continued until by good luck the eminent boxer Euthymus chanced to come to Temesa, vanquished the ruffianly ghost in single combat, and drove him into the sea ; after which the boxer married the girl, who for that year would have been consigned to the clutches of the deceased mariner.³ Elsewhere, Ovid refers to Temesan copper or bronze.⁴ The reason why the householder clashed bronze implements, perhaps cymbals, in dismissing the ghosts was that spirits are supposed to be put to flight by the clash of metal, whether bronze or iron.⁵ Hence at an eclipse of the moon bronze implements were clashed and bronze trumpets blown,⁶ probably to drive away the monster who was supposed to be devouring the luminary. The antiquity of copper and bronze in human history naturally favoured the employment of the metal in magical and religious rites and gave it a preference in this respect over iron, its more modern rival. "There are many proofs", says Macrobius, "that in the service of religion the use of bronze was general."⁷ For example, bronze sickles were used to cut magical herbs ;⁸ the hair of the Flamen Dialis was cut with a bronze knife ;⁹ indeed, we are told of the Sabine and Roman priests in general that their locks were shorn with bronze, not iron,

¹ Homer, *Od.* i. 182-184.

² Strabo, vi. i. 5, p. 255.

³ Pausanias, vi. 6, 7-11 ; compare Strabo, vi. i. 5, p. 255.

⁴ Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 207 sq., xv. 707.

⁵ Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 15 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 77.

⁶ Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 207 sq. ; Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 28 ; Scholiast on Theocritus, ii. 36.

⁷ Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 11.

⁸ Sophocles, *Root-cutters*, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 9 sq. ; Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 513 sq. ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 227.

⁹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 448.

razors or shears,¹ and that in offering sacrifice the flamens wore garments fastened with bronze brooches, "on account of the most ancient use of bronze".² In founding cities the Etruscans traced a furrow with a bronze ploughshare,³ and the Romans observed the same custom.⁴ On the other hand, whenever iron was brought into the sacred grove of the Arval Brothers for the purpose of cutting an inscription in stone, an expiatory sacrifice of a lamb and a pig must be offered, and the sacrifice was repeated when the graving-tool was removed from the grove.⁵ No doubt, the immemorial sanctity of the grove was deemed to be profaned by the introduction of such a new-fangled instrument as an iron tool, and the profanation had to be expiated by sacrifice. Yet the convenience of iron tools was so great that the sacrilege of using them on holy ground had to be winked at. Hence in the rules of the temple of Jupiter Liber at Furfo, in the Sabine country, a provision was expressly inserted permitting the use of iron tools in repairing the sacred edifice.⁶ As a general rule, iron was not brought into Greek sanctuaries.⁷ In Crete sacrifices were offered to Menedemus as a hero without the use of any iron instrument; the reason alleged was that Menedemus had been slain with many wounds in the Trojan war.⁸ The Archon of Plataea might not touch iron or wear any but a white garment; but at the festival celebrated every four years in honour of the men who fell in the great battle with the Persians, he was allowed to wear a purple or scarlet robe and to gird a sword on his thigh. In this martial garb he led the procession through the streets to the graves outside the city; there he washed and anointed the tombstones, and having sacrificed a black bull he filled a bowl with wine, and after pouring a libation he

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 13; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 35, p. 16 ed. Wuensch.

² Festus, s.v. "Infibulati", p. 100 ed. Lindsay, "*Infibulati sacrificabant flamines propter usum aeris antiquissimum acris fibulis*".³

³ Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 13.

⁴ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 11. 2. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 819 (Vol. III. pp. 379 sqq.).

⁵ G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. 128-135; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5043; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 459 sq.

⁶ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4906.

⁷ Plutarch, *Præcepta gerendae rei publicae*, 26, p. 819 E.

⁸ Callimachus, quoted by the scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis*, 451, p. 78 ed. R. Ellis.

said, "I drink to the men who died for the freedom of Greece".¹

V. 447. **Son of the Pleiad, thou reverend master of the puissant wand.**—Hermes, the messenger of the gods, whom the Romans identified with their Mercury, was reputed to be a son of the Pleiad Maia.² The "puissant wand", which he carried on his flight through the air, was the herald's staff (*caduceus*); hence in this and another passage³ Mercury is called *Caducifer*. With this wizard's wand he could lull the eyes of men to sleep and wake them again.⁴ Horace speaks of "the golden wand" with which, as with a shepherd's crook, Mercury shepherded the unsubstantial flock of ghosts to the happy or dolorous regions.⁵ Ovid tells how with this wand Mercury actually shepherded a flock of goats when, in the guise of a goatherd playing on his pipe, he stole upon the unwary Argus; and how, when he had relaxed the vigilance of the many-eyed monster with the lullaby of his music, he stroked his drowsy eyelids with the magic wand (*medicata virga*), till he sank into the heavy slumber from which he was to wake no more.⁶ The common form of the *caduceus* was a staff surmounted by two circles, one above the other, formed by serpents intertwined, the upper circle being incomplete, with the serpents' heads facing each other across the gap. Three such herald's staves, in bronze, have come down to us. A certain magic virtue appears to have been ascribed both in ancient and modern times to serpents in conjunction; and this virtue the *caduceus* may have been thought to possess.⁷

V. 448. **the palace of the Stygian Jove.**—The Stygian Jove is Pluto. He is so called by Virgil.⁸ Homer speaks of him as Nether Zeus.⁹

V. 449. **Learn the cause of the name.**—The following derivation of *lemures* from *Remus* with the change of "r" into "l", is of course baseless, though it is supported by

¹ Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 605.

³ Horace, *Odes*, i. 10. 17-20, i. 24. 15-18.

⁴ Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 668-721.

⁵ See my note on Pausanias, vi. 27. 8 (vol. iii. pp. 649 sq.).

⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 638

⁷ Homer, *Il.* ix. 457.

⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 83 sqq.

⁹ Homer, *Od.* v. 47 sq., xxiv. 2 sqq.

Porphyriion.¹ The story of the death and burial of Remus has already been told by our author.²

V. 453. **unhappy Faustulus and Acca, with streaming hair.**—Faustulus and Acca were the foster-parents of Romulus and Remus.³

V. 461. **if but the birds had assigned the kingdom to me.**—The reference is to the omen of the vultures, in virtue of which the kingdom fell to Romulus instead of to Remus.⁴

V. 466. **to suckle the abandoned babes.**—The story of the suckling of the twins by the she-wolf has already been told by Ovid.⁵

V. 467. **A citizen's rash hand undid him whom the she-wolf saved.**—The poet immediately indicates that the rash citizen is Celer, who hastily cut down Remus for leaping over the rising wall of Rome, as Ovid has already narrated.⁶

V. 469. **yield up thy cruel soul through wounds.**—Elsewhere Ovid uses a similar expression :

*"The guilty soul I will expel through thousand wounds."*⁷

Homer before him had spoken of the soul of a dying man passing out through his wound ;⁸ and, long after them both, Shakespeare puts in the mouth of the Duke of York, stabbed to death, the lines :

*"Open thy gate of mercy, gracious God!
My soul flies through these wounds to seek out Thee."*⁹

V. 486. **even now you see them closed at seasons sacred to the dead.**—The closing of the temples at the festival of the Feralia, when the ghosts were thought to be roving about, has already been noticed by Ovid.¹⁰ So at Athens, during the festival of the Anthesteria, when the souls of

¹ Porphyriion, on Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209, p. 343 ed. G. Meyer.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 835 sqq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 55 sq., with the note, iv. 854, with the note.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 813 sqq.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 413 sqq.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 837 sqq.

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 617 sq.; compare Virgil, *Aen.* x. 486 sq.

⁸ Homer, *Il.* xiv. 518 sq.

⁹ Shakespeare, *Henry VI.* Part III. Act I. Scene iv. ll. 177 sq.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 563-566.

the dead were supposed to be wandering about the streets, the temples of the gods were closed with ropes to bar the entrance of the unquiet spirits.¹

V. 490. **Common folk say 'tis ill to wed in May.**—In his *Roman Questions* Plutarch asks, "Why do they not marry wives in the month of May?" and among other answers he suggests what is probably the true one: "Is it because in that month many of the Latins sacrifice to the dead?"² That the fear of the wandering ghosts of the dead was the real motive which deterred the Romans from contracting marriages in May was apparently the opinion of Ovid; it is assigned as the reason by Porphyryon,³ and it is rendered all the more likely by the observation that marriage was similarly discountenanced during the festival of the dead (the Feralia) in February, when the souls of the departed were similarly supposed to be roaming about.⁴ So in Annam the seventh month of the year is set apart for expiatory sacrifices intended to benefit the poor ghosts of those who died without leaving descendants or whose bodies were left unburied, and that is why in Annam people think that nobody should marry or be betrothed in that month. The great day of the month is the fifteenth, which is called the Festival of Souls. On that day the ghosts of the childless and unburied dead are set free by the lord of the underworld, and they come prowling about among the living. But they are exceedingly dangerous, especially to children. Hence in order to appease their wrath and prevent them from entering the houses every family takes care to put out offerings for them in the street.⁵

Another explanation which Plutarch suggests for the dislike of marrying in May was that "in that month they perform the greatest of the purifications, at the present day

¹ Hesychius, s.v. *μαρὰ ἡμέρα*; Photius, *Lexicon*, s.vv. *θύραζε* *Kâpes* and *μαρὰ ἡμέρα*; Pollux, viii. 141; compare Athenaeus, x. 49, p. 437 c; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*² (Munich, 1920), p. 238; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 152 sq.

² Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 86.

³ Porphyryon, on Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 209, p. 343 ed. G. Meyer.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 557-566.

⁵ E. Diguët, *Les Annamites* (Paris, 1906), pp. 254 sq.; P. Giran, *Magie et Religion annamites* (Paris, 1912), pp. 258 sq.; *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ii. 64.

flinging puppets, but long ago men, from the bridge into the river. Wherefore also the Flaminica, who is deemed sacred to Hera (Juno), is accustomed to mourn, neither washing nor ornamenting herself at that time."¹ This latter explanation of the rule is accepted by Professor H. J. Rose as certainly correct.² But the meaning of throwing the puppets into the Tiber in the middle of May³ is far too uncertain and too much disputed to allow us to draw any inferences from it with confidence; whereas the fear of prowling ghosts as an impediment to marriage is quite certain for the festival of the dead in February, and is therefore highly probable for the corresponding festival in May; and the probability is strengthened by the exact parallelism of the Annamite custom. Indeed, the antithesis between death and marriage is so obvious and so natural that people might naturally shrink from marrying at any times and seasons associated with the dead, whether they believed in the presence of prowling ghosts or not.

But we need not suppose that the fear of the dead was the only motive which led the Romans to regard certain times as unlucky for marriage. We know from Ovid that some days early in March⁴ and the first half of June⁵ were times during which it was thought that prudent people should not marry; but there is nothing to suggest that this rule of prudence was based on a dread of ghosts. Again,⁶ the Calends, Nones, and Ides of every month were looked upon as days when no marriage should be contracted, and the reason assigned was that these were "black" days, because on them the Roman arms had sustained great reverses in battle.⁶ Yet, while virgins might not wed on these three days of the month, there was no objection to widows doing so; and for this exception in favour of widows a high authority on pontifical law, cited by Varro, alleged the

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 86.

² H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924), p. 204.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 621 *sqq.*, with the note.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 393-398.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 229-234.

⁶ Festus, *s.v.* "Nonarum, Iduum, Kalendarum", pp. 186, 187 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 21 *sq.*

curious reason that on holidays (*feriae*) it was lawful to scour old ditches but not to make new ones.¹

The licence thus granted to widows to marry on unlawful days is all the more remarkable because primitive ideas and customs commonly offer more obstacles to the marriage of widows and widowers than to the marriage of maids and bachelors, on the ground that widows and widowers are haunted by the jealous ghosts of their late spouses, who will do all in their power to molest their rivals and successors. Hence many precautions are observed at the marriage of widows and widowers which would be superfluous, or rather meaningless, at the marriage of maids and bachelors. Sometimes the wrath of the ghost is appeased by a sacrifice ; sometimes it is diverted from the real husband or wife to a dummy, such as an animal, a tree, a plant, or an inanimate object, and so on.

For example, among the Bhandaris, a caste of toddy-drawers in the Bombay Presidency, when a widow marries again, an exorcist is employed to free her from the spirit of her deceased husband, who is supposed to haunt her. For this purpose a platter containing lighted wicks, a pice, a coco-nut, rice grains, and a cock, is sent to the abode of the widow's late husband, where it is placed at the root of the sweet basil plant, which grows in front of the house. With these objects the spirit of the deceased husband is supposed to return to his old home, leaving his widow in peace, his departure being initiated or accelerated by the conjurations of the exorcist. Thus freed from the importunate ghost, the widow is married to her second husband by night in an unoccupied out-house, another widow acting as bride's-maid. Next morning the bridal procession starts for the bridegroom's home. But lest the ghost of the deceased husband should follow her, it is necessary to take fresh precautions against him. For this purpose the widow carries a cock under her arm, and when the procession reaches the boundary of the village

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 15. 21 (where for *Verrium Flaccum*, the name of Varro's authority, we should perhaps read *Valerium Flaccum* with Merkel, p. xcv of his edition of the *Fasti*, as Varro seems to have been dead before Verrius Flaccus wrote) ; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 105.

the fowl is killed, and its head, together with a lock of the widow's hair and a bit of a new robe worn by her, are buried under a rock. This ceremony is performed by the exorcist in order to propitiate the guardian spirit of the village, who resides at the boundary. On receipt of the offering, the guardian spirit is supposed to take the ghost of the widow's late husband into custody, or at least to prevent him from breaking bounds and pursuing the newly wedded pair with his unwelcome attentions. "Not unnaturally the deceased husband is believed to be very jealous of the second husband, and all the efforts of the *Bhagat* (exorcist) are directed towards annihilating his influence, in case he may be hovering near in the spirit with evil intentions."¹ Again, among the Ramoshis of the Bombay Presidency, "if a woman has lost three husbands and wishes to marry a fourth, she holds a cock under her left arm when the ceremony is being performed. The priest reads the service first in the name of the cock, and then of the man, the object evidently being that, in case the spirits of the woman's former husbands, or rather the spirit of the first husband, who killed the next two for meddling with his property, be inclined to do any harm, it may fall on the cock and not on the man."² Once more, the Komarpaiks of the Bombay Presidency believe "that the partner of the man or woman who has been twice married is certain to die soon after the marriage. To prevent this, if the man has been twice married before, he is wedded to a plantain tree and fells it with a billhook immediately after the ceremony. If the woman has been twice married before, she is married to a cock, whose throat she cuts with a knife as soon as the marriage is over."³ Though nothing is here said of the ghost of the dead wife or dead husband, we may safely conclude that she or he is believed to threaten the life of the bridegroom or bride, and that the only way of averting the blow is to satisfy the bloodthirsty ghost by ruthlessly cutting down the plantain-bride or the cock-bridegroom, as

¹ R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (Bombay, 1920-1922), i. 101 sq.; and for similar ceremonies at the marriage of widows among the Mahars and Nhavis of the Bombay Presidency see *id.* ii. 412, iii. 132 sq.

² R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* iii. 301.

³ R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* ii. 263.

the case may be. Similarly, among the Mahars of the Bombay Presidency, "a bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow unless he is first married to a *rui* plant or a ring. The marriage with the *rui* plant is performed with full marriage rites. The plant is then chopped up and buried in a burial ground, thus indicating that the first wife, *i.e.* the tree, is dead, and putting the bachelor, as a widower, on a footing with the widow."¹ Apparently the ghost of the deceased husband is supposed to believe that his widow is now dead; hence he will not come to molest her in the arms of her second husband. This custom of marrying a bachelor to a tree or plant (generally the *rui* or *shami*), or to a ring, before he marries a widow, is very common in the Bombay Presidency, and we may assume that in every case it is intended to give the slip to the jealous ghost of the deceased husband by throwing him a dummy bride on whom to wreak his spite.² Among the Parits of the Bombay Presidency, when a widow has married again, a cock is sacrificed every year to propitiate the ghost of her deceased husband.³

But to return to Rome. According to Marquardt,⁴ the three days on which the *mundus* stood open⁵ were also days on which marriage was forbidden by custom. These three days were reckoned "religious" (*religiosi*), and no public business, except what was absolutely necessary, might be transacted on them,⁶ but we are not expressly told that marriage, which is a private affair, was forbidden on them. Still, if it was forbidden, as is likely enough, the reason could hardly be other than that the ghosts were then supposed to be prowling about, for the *mundus*, which stood

¹ R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* ii. 412.

² R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* i. 31, 39, 50, 57, 91, 95, 180, 186, 257, 267, 291, 309, 318, 329, 333, 338, 344, ii. 19, 79, 101, 115, 123, 126, 128, 179, 192, 241, 386, 399, 440, iii. 2, 137, 144, 331, 337, 351, 366, 380, 389.

³ R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* iii. 176. For more evidence of the measures taken to guard widows and widowers at marriage against the jealous ghosts of their deceased spouses see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 523 *sqq.* Compare E. S. Hartland, "The Haunted Widow," *Ritual and Belief* (London, 1914), pp. 194-234; W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 197 *sq.*

⁴ J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*², p. 43.

⁵ See above, note on *Fasti*, iv. 821 (Vol. III. pp. 387 *sqq.*).

⁶ Festus, *s.vv.* "Mundus" and "Mundum", pp. 144, 145, 146, 147 ed. Lindsay.

open on these days, was believed to be the gateway to the underworld of the dead (*di manes*).¹ Thus, if marriage was indeed forbidden on these three days, it would confirm the explanation which I have given of the aversion to marriage in May. The same aversion persists in England to this day, though the reason for it has long been forgotten.

V. 493. **If you look for Boeotian Orion on the middle of these three days, you will be disappointed.**—Ovid has already referred to the evening setting of Orion in another passage.² In that passage the poet dates the evening setting of Orion on April 9; in the present passage he dates it on May 11, the middle day of the Lemuria. The apparent evening setting of the middle star in Orion's Belt fell on April 19, that of Rigel eight days earlier (April 11) and that of Betelgeuze nine days later (April 27). Accordingly Ovid's former date (April 9) answers approximately to the beginning of the apparent evening setting of the whole constellation. But the true evening setting of these three stars falls in the interval from April 26 to May 11. Now in the present passage Ovid correctly puts the setting of the constellation on the last of these dates (May 11). Thus it appears that in this and the earlier passage he followed two different calendars, one of which dated the beginning of the apparent evening setting of Orion on April 9, while the other dated the end of the true evening setting of the great constellation on May 11.³

V. 494. **I must now sing of the cause of the constellation.**—The myth of the birth and death of Orion was variously told by the ancients. According to Hesiod, he was a son of Poseidon (Neptune) by Euryale, daughter of Minos, and as a son of the sea-god he could run over the waves as on the dry land.⁴ This version of Orion's parentage was accepted by the old Athenian antiquary Pherecydes.⁵ But according to another account, based on an absurd

¹ Festus, *ll.cc.*

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 388, with the note.

³ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 161 sq.

⁴ Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 32; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 331, p. 412 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella). All these writers refer to Hesiod as their authority for the tale.

⁵ Apollodorus, i. 4. 3.

etymology which derived the name Orion from the Greek *ouron*, "urine", Orion was created miraculously by three gods, Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes (Jupiter, Neptune, and Mercury) without the aid of a mother. This is the version followed by Ovid in the ensuing picturesque narrative. It appears to have been told, in his lost dithyrambs, by Pindar, who laid the scene of the legend at Hyria, a town of Boeotia, which had formerly belonged to Thebes but in Strabo's time was reckoned to Tanagra; it was there that Hyrieus lived, and that Orion was born.¹

The story is told in substantially the same form, with minor variations, by Tzetzes,² Hyginus,³ Servius,⁴ Lactantius Placidus,⁵ and the Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus.⁶ Of these writers, Hyginus⁷ and the Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus⁸ cite a certain Aristomachus as the authority for their version, which agrees closely with that of Ovid, except that they lay the scene of the miraculous birth at Thebes, while Ovid leaves it indefinite, and that Hyginus omits Neptune (Poseidon) from the divine trio who were concerned in the begetting of Orion. In the other passage,⁹ where he tells the tale, Hyginus restores Neptune to his place in the trio, but transfers the scene to Thrace and calls Hyrieus a king. Tzetzes substitutes Apollo for Hermes (Mercury) among the three divine guests of Hyrieus and begetters of Orion. Servius calls the childless host of the three gods, not Hyrieus, but Oenopion. But the substitution of Oenopion for Hyrieus is almost certainly a mistake; for in the myth or legend of Orion this Oenopion played quite a different part from that of god-father to the divine child begotten in so strange a fashion by the three gods.¹⁰ The Scholiast on Caesar

¹ Strabo, ix. 2. 12, p. 404.

² Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 328.

³ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34, *Fab.* 195.

⁴ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 535.

⁵ Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 27.

⁶ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 71 and 331, pp. 386, 413 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

⁷ Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 34.

⁸ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 331, p. 413 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

⁹ Hyginus, *Fab.* 195.

¹⁰ Apollodorus, i. 4. 3, with my note; Aratus, *Phaenom.* 640; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 331, pp. 412 sq. ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

Germanicus in one passage further quotes from Nigidius a variant version of the myth which represents the host of the gods as Nisaeus, king of the Bisthonians, a Thracian people.¹ Lycophron seems to allude to the triple divine fatherhood of Orion in a line where he speaks of "Candaon's three-fathered falchion";² at least the passage was so understood by his commentator, Tzetzes, who in his note on the line tells us that Candaon was a Boeotian name for Orion. However, the passage is otherwise interpreted by Professor Mair in his edition of Lycophron.³

V. 497. **it was the time when the yoked kine draw home the upturned plough.**—So Virgil describes the oxen drawing home the upturned plough, while the departing sun stretched out the evening shadows;⁴ and the same picture of the coming on of evening is painted by Horace.⁵ Ovid may have had both passages in his mind.

V. 537. **the Delian goddess took him to be her companion.**—The death of Orion, like his birth, was narrated in various ways. Some said that Orion was killed for challenging Artemis to a game at quoits; others that he was shot by Artemis for offering violence to Opis, one of the maidens who came from the land of the Hyperboeans.⁶ According to another account, he was shot by Diana (Artemis) with arrows for attempting her own divine chastity.⁷ But the usual story ran that he was killed by a scorpion for his sacrilegious attempt on the virgin goddess; that he was raised to the sky and converted into the splendid constellation which bears his name by his father, or god-father, Zeus (Jupiter); that Artemis (Diana) in gratitude bestowed the same honour on her champion the Scorpion; and that in the sky the two constellations continue to stand in the same relation to each other as did their prototypes on earth, Orion for ever fleeing before the Scorpion, and setting in the west

¹ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 71, pp. 385 sq. ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

² Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 328, τριπάρτω φασγάνῳ Κανδόνοσ.

³ Callimachus, *Lycophron*, *Aratus*, p. 522, Loeb Classical Library.

⁴ Virgil, *Ecl.* ii. 66 sq.

⁵ Horace, *Epod.* ii. 63 sq.

⁶ Apollodorus, i. 4. 5.

⁷ Callimachus, *Hymns*, III. *To Artemis*, 265; Callimachus, cited by Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34; Hyginus, *Fab.* 195; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 535.

when the Scorpion is rising in the east.¹ Ovid adopts the story of the killing of Orion by the scorpion, but gives it a different turn, to the advantage of Orion, by representing the scorpion as instigated by the goddess Earth to attack Latona ("the Goddess Mother of Twins"), while Orion is said to have nobly sacrificed his life in the defence of the goddess by throwing himself between her and the deadly worm. According to this version of the myth, Orion had excited the anger of Earth by boasting that there was no beast on earth which he could not conquer (lines 539-540): the boast is reported in a more explicit form by Eratosthenes, who says that Orion threatened to kill every beast on the face of the earth, and that in her wrath the Earth-goddess sent a monstrous scorpion which stung Orion to death.² According to Hyginus,³ Orion made this boast to Diana and Latona. The same story of the fatal brag and the death of the braggart is briefly told by the Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus.⁴

An entirely different and altogether singular version of the death of Orion is reported by Hyginus on the authority of Istrus. It runs as follows. Diana fell so in love with Orion that it was generally believed she was about to give him her hand in marriage. This report enraged Apollo and he remonstrated with his maiden sister Diana, but all in vain. So one day, when Orion was disporting himself in the water, and nothing but his head was visible above it, Apollo bet his sister that she could not hit with an arrow yonder black object bobbing up and down on the surface of the sea. Nettled at this reflection on her marksmanship, Diana at once discharged an arrow, which passed clean through the head of Orion, killing him on the spot. When the waves washed up his lifeless body on the shore, Diana wept floods of tears over the corpse and placed it among the stars.⁵

V. 545. Orion and the other stars haste to withdraw from

¹ Aratus, *Phaenom.* 634-646; Nicander, *Ther.* 13 sqq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 32; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 121; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 535; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 27; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 71, p. 386 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

² Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 32.

³ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 26.

⁴ Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 71, p. 385 ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

⁵ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34.

the sky.—Ovid supposes that Orion and the stars of night hasten to set before their due time in order that Lucifer, the Morning Star, may the sooner usher in the glorious day which saw the dedication of a temple to Mars the Avenger. Ovid has already paid a like fulsome compliment to the Emperor who dedicated the temple.¹ In the same spirit, though with a contrary sense, Milton tells us that on the wintry night when Christ was born,

“ *The stars, with deep amaze,
Stand fixed in steadfast gaze,
Bending one way their precious influence,
And will not take their flight,
For all the morning light,
Or Lucifer that often warned them thence ;
But in their glimmering orbs did glow,
Until their Lord himself bespake, and bid them go.*”²

V. 551. The Avenger descends himself from heaven to behold . . . his splendid temple in the forum of Augustus.—In the war with the assassins of Caesar, which ended with the victory of Philippi and the deaths of Brutus and Cassius (42 B.C.), the future emperor, Augustus, vowed to build a temple to Mars the Avenger, if he should succeed in avenging the murder of his adoptive father ; this temple, in accordance with his vow, he afterwards caused to be built in the forum which bore his own name, the Forum of Augustus.³ The temple was dedicated in 2 B.C., the occasion being celebrated with gladiatorial games and a naval sham fight on a magnificent scale.⁴ In the Circus Maximus no less than two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered ; the Circus Flaminius was flooded, and thirty-six crocodiles were butchered in the water for the amusement of the spectators.⁵ The temple was dedicated on the first of August, and the day was ever afterwards celebrated by annual games.⁶ Ovid is therefore in error in supposing that the great temple of Mars the Avenger in the forum of Augustus was dedicated on the twelfth of May. He seems to have

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 673 sqq.

² Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, vi.

³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29 ; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 21-22, p. 98 ed. Hardy, p. 28 ed. Diehl⁴.

⁴ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 100. 2.

⁵ Dio Cassius, lrv. 10. 6-8.

⁶ Dio Cassius, lxx. 5. 3.

confused that temple with another temple of Mars the Avenger, which Augustus caused to be built on the Capitol to house the Roman standards which he had recovered from the Parthians in 20 B.C.¹ The day when this temple on the Capitol was dedicated is not known, but it may well have been the twelfth of May, the day to which Ovid by mistake referred the dedication of the temple in the forum of Augustus. Ovid tells us (lines 597-598) that the twelfth of May was celebrated with games in the Circus in honour of Mars, and his statement is confirmed by entries in the Maffeian calendar and the calendar of Philocalus.² Hence we may suppose that the games on that day were instituted in 20 B.C. when the temple of Mars on the Capitol was dedicated, and that the games on the first of August were instituted in 2 B.C., when the temple of Mars in the forum of Augustus was dedicated. An image of Venus stood beside that of Mars in the temple of the Avenger in the forum of Augustus.³ From two reliefs which are thought to imitate, or to have been suggested by, the group in the temple, it has been inferred that a figure of Love stood between the statues of the god and goddess, as a link uniting their divinities.⁴

In founding the temple in his forum Augustus decreed that the Senate should hold its meetings there to discuss wars and decree triumphs; that provincial governors with military authority should be escorted from it on their way to take up their commands; and that victorious generals should repair to it and deposit within its walls the trophies of their victories and triumphs.⁵ Moreover, it was decreed that all standards recovered from the enemy should be laid up in the sacred edifice; that at the steps leading up to it the generals of cavalry should celebrate an annual festival; and that the censors should knock a nail into it at the close of their term of office.⁶ Further, bronze statues of all who had won triumphal honours were to be set up in

¹ Dio Cassius, liv. 8. 1-3.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 224, 264, 318, with Mommsen's comment.

³ Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 295 sq.

⁴ G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 50 sq.; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 146 sq.; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*⁶, p. 184, with Pl. vi facing p. 182.

⁵ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29; Dio Cassius, liv. 10. 2 sq.

⁶ Dio Cassius, liv. 10. 4.

the forum outside the temple.¹ These statues, each of them arrayed in the gorgeous trappings worn by a general in his triumphal march through the city, stood in rows in the two long colonnades which adorned the forum, one on each side of the temple ; and in an edict the Emperor proclaimed that the life of these men, who by their arms had raised the Roman State from nothingness to the empire of the world, was henceforth to be the model by which he desired to be judged by his people, so long as he lived, and by which he trusted that the princes his successors would be guided in ages to come.² In short, the temple and its surroundings were designed by Augustus to be the outward and visible symbols of the military glories of Rome, a Valhalla to commemorate the heroes of the past, and a nursery to breed heroes in the future.

In the temple of Mars the Emperor received the ambassadors from barbarous tribes which desired to live at peace with Rome, and there he exacted from them an oath that they would faithfully observe the treaty.³ But the sacred edifice also witnessed less solemn scenes within its hallowed walls. From an inscription found on the spot we learn that the temple was one of the stations (*mansiones*) visited by the Palatine troop of the Salii, the dancing priests of Mars, on their rounds through the city ;⁴ indeed, the temple appears to have been the place where they finished their round for the day and held the banquets which were proverbial for their extravagant luxury. For once, when the gluttonous and sottish Claudius was holding a court in the forum of Augustus, he smelt the savoury smell of dinner wafted from the neighbouring temple of Mars, where the Salii were sitting down to the feast ; the temptation was irresistible, the Emperor deserted the judgement seat, and entering the temple, took his place among the priestly banqueters.⁵ The sword of Julius Caesar was deposited in the temple, and when Vitellius

¹ Dio Cassius, lv. 10. 3.

² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31.

³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21. 2.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4944.

⁵ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 33. 1. For the luxurious feasts of the Salii compare Horace, i. 37. 2-4 ; Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, v. 9. 1, "*epulati essemus Saliarem in modum*" ; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* iv. 22, "*Salias se coenasse coenas crederet*" ; Ausonius, *Epist.* v. 13, "*michi non Saliare epulum.*"

was hailed as Emperor by the mutinous troops of the capital, somebody snatched the sword from the shrine and thrust it into the hand of the usurper, who, clad in his nightgown (for he had been surprised in his bedchamber) and brandishing the naked blade in one hand, was carried shoulder-high by the soldiers through the most crowded streets of Rome.¹ It was an appropriate beginning of a short and ignominious reign. Caligula dedicated to Mars the Avenger three swords that had been designed to take his life.²

The reason which led Augustus to create a new forum was that the two existing forums (the old Roman forum and the Julian forum) no longer sufficed for the transaction of the vast amount of legal business which the increase of the population entailed. Accordingly, to meet the pressure, the new forum was opened to the public in haste, before the temple of Mars was finished; and it was enacted that public prosecutions and the balloting for juries should be transferred thither.³ The Emperor Trajan sometimes sat in judgement in the forum of Augustus.⁴ Yet shortly after his time the forum would seem to have fallen into disrepair, for it was restored by his successor Hadrian.⁵

The forum of Augustus, in which stood the temple of Mars the Avenger, was reckoned by Pliny, along with the Circus Maximus, the basilica of Paulus, and Vespasian's Temple of Peace, among "the most beautiful works which the world had ever beheld".⁶ This praise it earned, not only by the magnificence of its architecture and masonry, to which its massive remains still bear eloquent testimony, but also by the masterpieces of sculpture and painting with which it was adorned. Among these was a four-horse chariot erected by decree of the Senate in honour of Augustus; in the inscription on its base the Emperor was called the Father of his Country, a title formally bestowed on him in 2 B.C., the year in which the temple of Mars the Avenger in the forum was dedicated.⁷ There also might be seen an ivory statue of

¹ Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 8. 1.

² Suetonius, *Caligula*, 24. 3.

³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 1.

⁴ Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 10. 2.

⁵ Spartianus, *Hadrianus*, 19.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 102, "*pulcherrima operum quae umquam vidit orbis.*"

⁷ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, vi. 24-27, p. 161 ed. Hardy, p. 44 ed. Diehl.⁴

Apollo ;¹ and in front of the temple stood two statues which were traditionally said to have supported the tent of Alexander the Great.² At or near the entrance to the forum was set up the ancient ivory image of Athena Alea, which Augustus had carried off from her great temple at Tegea in Arcadia ;³ and in the most crowded part of the forum were exhibited two paintings of the great Greek master Apelles : their subjects were War, Victory, Castor and Pollux, and the triumph of Alexander the Great : Alexander was represented drawn in a triumphal car, and War by a figure with her hands tied behind her back.⁴ In the reign of Tiberius triumphal arches were erected on either side of the temple of Mars in honour of Germanicus and Drusus after their victories in Germany.⁵ Years later, on the report of some trumpery successes over the Parthians in the East, the flatterers of Nero proposed in the Senate that his statue should be set up in the temple of Mars the Avenger, and that it should equal in size that of the god himself.⁶ However, the sanctity of the temple did not always suffice to protect the treasures which it contained. Juvenal taunted the martial deity with not being able to guard his own property against thieves, who had broken into the sacred edifice and carried off the god's helmet with the rest of the spoil.⁷

The forum of Augustus was situated to the north, or rather north-east, of the Julian forum, on which it abutted. In area it was about equal to the old Roman Forum. The modern Via Bonella traverses the site from end to end. The shape was quadrangular, with two great hemicycles (*exedrae*) projecting from it on the two long western and eastern (more exactly north-western and south-eastern) sides. The temple of Mars the Avenger occupied exactly the middle of the northern (north-eastern) side of the forum. But the quadrangle was not complete ; the corner adjoining the temple of Mars on the east was cut away, leaving the outline of the forum irregular at this point. The explanation of the irregularity is furnished by the statement of Suetonius that

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 183.

² Pausanias, viii. 46.

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 64.

⁷ Juvenal, xiv. 261 *sq.*

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 48.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 27 and 93.

⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 8.

Augustus made his forum narrower than he had planned because he did not venture to eject the owners of the neighbouring houses.¹ The forum was surrounded by a lofty wall about a hundred feet high, probably for the double purpose of securing its treasures from fire and of excluding the view of the shabby houses in the mean and crowded quarter to the north. Considerable portions of this great circuit wall exist to this day and are among the most stately of the ruins of ancient Rome ; they offer, indeed, one of the finest existing examples of massive Roman masonry of the best period. This enormous wall is standing to a height of about 86 feet above the ground, but about 23 feet of the base of the wall are buried below the modern street. It is built of large blocks of peperino, left rough and bossy on the outside, laid without mortar but fastened together with wooden clamps, which, when part of the wall was pulled down in the sixteenth century, were found in a perfect state of preservation. The wall is pierced by a fine archway, now called the Arco de' Pantani, which spans the modern Via Bonella. The stones of the arch are immense blocks of travertine, which fit into the peperino courses of the wall. Close by this archway, the inner side of the forum wall exhibits marks of a lofty portico or colonnade, with gabled roof, which abutted against it ; holes for the wooden beams of this roof are cut in the peperino blocks of the wall. This colonnade appears to have been carried round at least two, perhaps three, sides of the forum ; it was in this colonnade that the statues of generals who had won triumphs were set up.² Beyond this point a large portion, about half, of the great eastern hemicycle is still standing and well preserved. In it are two rows of niches, one above the other. The lower row almost certainly contained statues ; whether the upper row did so is more doubtful. Each niche was flanked by a great monolithic column of coloured marble, supporting an entablature of solid blocks of white marble. The rest of the surface of the wall was lined with slabs of marble of various colours. Considerable pieces of these magnificent decorations were discovered in 1888, when excavations were being carried on within the hemicycle. The pavement of the forum was found to be about 23 feet

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 56. 2.

² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 5.

below the modern street ; it was formed of the most costly materials, green and red porphyries, with Numidian and other coloured marbles and white marble arranged in large slabs so as to form simple geometrical patterns, the whole producing a most magnificent effect from the variety and beauty of the stones.

Of the temple of Mars the Avenger only a fragment remains, but enough to give us some notion of what it must have been when it stood entire in all its splendour. Three Corinthian columns of the eastern side are still standing, together with a pilaster fitted against the peperino blocks of the great circuit wall, on which the temple abutted. All are of Luna marble and of the finest workmanship. The architrave still rests on the columns, and the marble ceiling of the surrounding colonnade (*peristyle*) is here well preserved, with its sunken and richly moulded coffers (*lacunaria*), each coffer with a central rosette. The wall of the temple (*cella*), so far as it is standing, is of peperino lined with thin slabs of Greek marble, but with intermediate bands of solid marble blocks tailing into the wall. The plinth is richly moulded, and the lower part of the *cella* wall has a tall dado, with grooves sunk into the marble to produce the appearance of joints, a device successfully employed by the Romans to enlarge the apparent size of their buildings.

In the sixteenth century the forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars the Avenger were much better preserved than at present, and from the plans and drawings of Labacco and Palladio we learn that the temple was octastyle, that is, it had eight columns in front, and that it had nine columns and a pilaster on each of the long sides. The shortness of Roman temples in proportion to their width is one of the chief points in which they differed from pure Greek temples ; as a rule, Greek temples had at least twice as many columns on the flanks as at the end.¹

¹ As to the forum of Augustus and the temple of Mars the Avenger see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 442-447 ; Th. Mommsen and Ch. Huelsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 188 *sqq.* ; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 5-13 (especially for the existing remains) ; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 304-309 ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 110-112 ; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*⁴ (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 70 *sq.*, with the views on pp. 69, 70 ; S. B.

V. 561. **He surveys on the doors . . . arms of foreign lands subdued by his soldiery.**—From Ovid's description it is not clear whether these arms were the real weapons taken from the foe and hung on the doors of the temple, like the captured cannon which adorn public places in England; or whether they were merely imagery sculptured on the great doors, like the reliefs, for example, on the bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence. The folding doors of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine exhibited in their panels, on the one side, the overthrow of the Gauls before Delphi, and on the other side, Niobe mourning for her dead children.¹

V. 563. **On this side he sees Aeneas laden with his dear burden.**—Ovid appears to be describing statues in the forum of Augustus which Mars is supposed to view from the summit of his temple. He expressly mentions the statues of Aeneas and Romulus, and the commemorative inscriptions carved on the bases of the statues. Some fragments of these inscriptions have been found at Rome and copies of them in various other towns, particularly in Arretium, Pompeii, and Lavinium. All that remains of the inscriptions, whether originals or copies, is published in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.² Among the rest have been found at Pompeii copies of the inscriptions engraved on the two statues of Aeneas and Romulus mentioned by Ovid.³ That of Aeneas is only a fragment, but that of Romulus is almost complete and runs to this effect: "Romulus, son of Mars, founded the city of Rome and reigned thirty-eight years. He was the first general who slew the enemy's general, to wit, Acron, king of the Caeninensians, and dedicated the noble spoil (*spolia opima*) to Jupiter Feretrius, and being received into the number of the gods he was called Quirinus." This inscription, or rather the original of which it is a copy, Ovid may have seen on the base of the statue of Romulus in the forum of Augustus, and the sight of it may have suggested lines

Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 276-281; H. Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain*⁶, pp. 181-189, 372-374; L. Homo, *La Rome antique*, pp. 148-150.

¹ Propertius, iii. 23. 12-14, ed. Paley. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 951.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 185-197.

³ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 189.

565-566 of the present passage. The exploit of Romulus which the statue and the inscription commemorated is often mentioned by ancient writers.¹ According to Livy, when Romulus brought back the spoils of King Acron, whom he had slain in battle, there was as yet no temple on the Capitol; but on that hill there was a sacred oak-tree, worshipped by shepherds, and to its boughs Romulus attached the royal arms taken from the foe, vowing to dedicate to Jupiter Feretrius a temple wherein should in future be deposited all spoils of slaughtered kings and captains of armies.² According to Plutarch, Romulus attached the spoils, not to a living oak, but to the trunk of an oak which he cut down for the purpose.³ As to the derivation of the title Feretrius applied to Jupiter, the ancients were divided in opinion; Livy clearly derived it from *ferre* "to carry";⁴ Plutarch expressly derived it from *ferire* "to strike";⁵ Propertius mentions both derivations without deciding between them.⁶

Among the statues which could be seen from the temple of Mars the Avenger, our poet mentions those of "many an ancestor of the noble Julian line". These probably included statues of the kings of Alba Longa, whose blood was supposed to flow in the veins of the Julii. At the funeral of Drusus, who by adoption belonged to that illustrious house, the images of Aeneas, of all the Alban kings, of Romulus, and of the Sabine nobility were borne in long procession through the streets of Rome, deeply impressing the silent crowds of spectators with a pageant which recalled so many glorious memories.⁷ Certainly a statue of Aeneas Sylvius, one of the Alban kings, appears to have stood in the forum of Augustus; for at Lavinium has been found a marble base bearing an inscription which is believed to have been copied from the one inscribed on the pedestal of his statue in the forum of Augustus.⁸ Among the other statues which, from the evidence of the inscriptions, are known or inferred to have

¹ Livy, i. 10; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. 3; Propertius, v. (iv.) 10. 4-16; Festus, s.v. "Opima spolia", pp. 204, 206 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 34. 4; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16.

² Livy, i. 10. 5 sq.

³ Livy, i. 10. 6.

⁴ Propertius, v. (iv.) 10. 45-48.

⁵ C.I.L. i. 3 p. 189.

⁶ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16.

⁷ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 16. 6.

⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 9.

adorned the same magnificent square in the heart of the city, were those of Caius Duilius, who defeated the Carthaginians in the great sea-fight, the Trafalgar of ancient Rome; Quintus Fabius Maximus, the adversary of Hannibal; Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia; Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the conqueror of Numidia; Marius, Sulla, and Lucullus.¹ A spot so crowded with monuments of the illustrious dead must have been well fitted to stir the blood and warm the heart of a patriotic Roman; and it was perhaps the sight of these lines of statues, standing silent on their storied pedestals, which suggested to Horace his reference to "the marbles graved with public records, by whose aid the soul and life return to the great captains dead and gone".² For though the poet did not live to see the dedication of the temple, the great edifice and the square, of which the temple was the principal ornament, must have been years in building, and many of the statues with their inscriptions may have stood on their pedestals long before the formal opening of the place to the public.

V. 573. **my father, Vesta's priest.**—Julius Caesar, the adoptive father of Augustus, was Pontifex Maximus and therefore a priest of Vesta.³ The Pontifex Maximus was closely associated with Vesta. His office (the *Regia* or King's House) adjoined her temple, and his house abutted on the house of the Vestals, and he is thought to have possessed paternal power over the Vestal Virgins, as if they were his daughters.⁴

V. 580. **the standards detained by the hands of the Parthians.**—In 53 B.C. the Roman army, under the command of the Triumvir Marcus Crassus, crossed the Euphrates and sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Parthians: the general and his son were slain, and the Roman standards captured by the enemy.⁵ The standards

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 188 *sqq.*

² Horace, *Odes*, iv. 8. 13-15, "*Incisa notis marmora publicis, | per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis | post mortem ducibus.*"

³ Compare *Fasti*, iii. 699.

⁴ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 250; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 88 *sqq.* As to the *Regia* or King's House see below, pp. 193 *sqq.*

⁵ Livy, *Per.* cvi.; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 22-31; Dio Cassius, xl. 16-27; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 9. 22; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 46. 4.

remained in the hands of the Parthians for more than thirty years, but when Augustus was in Syria in 20 B.C., the Parthian king Phraates, fearing to be attacked by him, sent him back the captured standards together with all the surviving prisoners of war. The emperor was very proud of this achievement: he received the standards and prisoners as if he had conquered the Parthians in war: he offered up sacrifices, and ordered, as we have seen, a temple of Mars the Avenger to be built on the Capitol to lodge the standards.¹ But there the standards were deposited only for a time, till the great temple of Mars the Avenger was ready to receive them. In it they were finally deposited, as we learn from the statement of the Emperor himself, who, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, says: "The Parthians I compelled to restore the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and as suppliants to implore the friendship of the Roman people. These standards I laid up in the inner shrine of the temple of Mars the Avenger."² That in this passage the Emperor refers to the temple in his own forum is certain from the other passage in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, where he expressly says: "On private ground I built, with the spoils of war, the temple of Mars the Avenger and the forum of Augustus."³ The three Roman armies whose standards Augustus asserts he recovered were those of Crassus and Antony;⁴ apparently Antony lost two armies and many standards in his wars with the Parthians. The recovery of the lost standards was a matter of great jubilation at Rome; the poets of the Augustan age often refer to it with patriotic pride.⁵ The event was commemorated by coins bearing on the obverse the figure of a Parthian warrior kneeling down and presenting a standard, with the legend *Caesar Augustus sign(is) rece(ptis)*.⁶ These coins may have been seen and handled by Ovid, for in one passage he says, "Now the

¹ Dio Cassius, liv. 8; Livy, *Epit.* cxli.; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 91. 1; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21.

² *Monumentum Ancyranum*, v. 40-43, p. 138 ed. Hardy, p. 38 ed. Diehl ⁴.

³ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 21 sq., p. 98 ed. Hardy, p. 28 ed. Diehl ⁴.

⁴ Livy, *Per.* cxli.; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 91. 1; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 465-468, *Tristia*, ii. 227 sq., *Ars Amat.* i. 179 sq.; Horace, *Odes*, iv. 15. 6-8, *Epist.* i. 12. 27 sq., i. 18. 56 sq.

⁶ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 217, 469, ii. 70, 71, 72, 75, 297, 298.

Parthian holds out his bow and the captured standards with timid hand".¹ Compare line 593 below. But nothing shows more clearly the pride which Augustus took in this triumph than the conspicuous place which he assigned to it on the breastplate of his great statue, known as the statue of the Prima Porta, now in the Vatican. There, among the figures in relief which adorn the front of the cuirass, the central group consists of a Roman general in the act of receiving a standard from a Parthian. Above them appears the Sun-god in his chariot, arched by the canopy of the Sky-god, and beneath them reclines the Earth-goddess, as if Heaven and Earth were called on to witness the great surrender, the crowning glory of the Roman arms.²

V. 591. **the arrows thou art wont to shoot behind thy back.**—It was a common stratagem of the Parthian cavalry to gallop away as if in flight, and then to turn round and discharge arrows behind them at the pursuing foe.³

V. 595. **earned that title twice over.**—Mars is assumed to have earned the title of Avenger twice over by avenging both the murder of Caesar and the defeat of Crassus. But while he professes to give the god the glory, the courtly poet really addresses the compliment to Augustus.

V. 600. **You will behold all the Pleiades, even the whole bevy of sisters, when there shall be one night remaining before the Ides.**—As the Ides of May were the 15th of the month, we might naturally suppose that Ovid is here speaking of the 14th. But immediately afterwards (line 603) he mentions "the day before the Ides", as if it were a different and later day. But "the day before the Ides" is unquestionably the 14th. To what day then does the poet refer when he says that the Pleiades are visible "one night before the Ides"? Apparently he is speaking of May 13; for since

¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 227 sq.

² A. Baummeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 229, fig. 183; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*⁴ (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 185-186; Franz Boll, *Die Sonne im Glauben und in der Weltanschauung der alten Völker* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 5 note¹, with Tafel i., Bild 2; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ (Leipzig, 1912-1913), i. No. 5, pp. 4-6.

³ Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 31; Horace, *Odes*, i. 19. 11 sq., ii. 13. 17 sq.; Propertius, iii. 1. 13 sq. ed. Paley (ii. 10. 13 sq. ed. Butler); Plutarch, *Crassus*, 24. 6, who tells us that in this manœuvre the Parthians were second to the Scythians alone.

the Roman day began and ended at midnight,¹ the 13th of May was the last day separated from the Ides by one complete night. Thus Ovid seems to say that the Pleiades are completely visible on the morning of May 13th. According to Columella,² the day on which all the Pleiades can be seen is May 10th, and Pliny also³ dates the rising of the Pleiades on May 10. In dating the morning rising of the Pleiades on May 13, or possibly May 14, Ovid may have followed a Greek calendar; for in the time of the Greek astronomer Meton, who introduced the cycle of nineteen years in the fifth century B.C., the Pleiades rose at Athens on May 16, whereas at Rome in Ovid's time the constellation did not rise till May 28. In the present passage Ovid dates the beginning of summer from the rising of the Pleiades. In Caesar's calendar the beginning of summer was also dated from the morning rising of the Pleiades, but the rising of the constellation was dated on May 9,⁴ which nearly agrees with the dating of Columella and Pliny, who probably followed Caesar's calendar.⁵

V. 603. **the Bull lifts his starry front.**—Though Ovid here speaks of the constellation of the Bull (Taurus), he or his authority probably referred rather to the rising of the Hyades, which are a group of stars in the forehead of the Bull.⁶ Thus in the present passage Ovid dated the morning rising of the Hyades on May 14, the day before the Ides. The true morning rising of the constellation for Rome in Ovid's time was on May 16; the apparent rising did not take place till June 9. In one passage⁷ Columella says that the Hyades or, more strictly speaking, one of them (*Sucula*), rises with the sun on May 2; while in another passage⁸ he affirms that the Hyades (*Suculae*) rise on May 21. Thus the true date of the morning rising of the constellation lay

¹ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxiv. 1.

² Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 40.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 248.

⁴ Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 28; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 222.

⁵ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 152 sq.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 165 sq., with the note.

⁷ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 39.

⁸ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 43.

between the dates assigned to it by Ovid and by Columella in the latter passage.¹

V. 604. **This constellation is explained by a familiar tale.**—The story how Jupiter (Zeus), in the form of a bull, swam through the sea from Sidon to Crete with Europa, daughter of Phoenix or of Agenor, on his back; and how the bull was afterwards converted into the constellation of the same name, was indeed one of the most familiar in Greek mythology. It is the theme of a poem by Moschus, though he does not mention the transformation of the animal into the constellation.²

V. 607. **She held the bull's mane in her right hand, her drapery in her left.**—This description of Europa clinging to the bull's mane or horn with one hand, while with the other she clutched her robe, which bellied and fluttered in the wind, was a favourite one with ancient writers.³ They may have had in mind a famous painting which portrayed Europa in this picturesque attitude.

V. 619. **Others say that this constellation is the Pharian heifer.**—The "Pharian heifer" is the Argive Io, whom her lover Zeus (Jupiter) converted into a cow to escape the vengeance of his jealous spouse Hera (Juno). In that form Io journeyed to Egypt, where she was identified with the goddess Isis. Some thought, as Ovid here tells us, that the constellation commonly called the Bull was rather a cow, being no other than Io in her cow-shape transported to the sky.⁴

V. 621. **the Virgin is wont to throw the rush-made effigies of ancient men from the oaken bridge.**—This curious rite, the

¹ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti der Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 154.

² Moschus, ii. See also Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 836-875; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173, pp. 395 sq. ed. Eyssenhardt (appended to his edition of Martianus Capella); Hyginus, *Fab.* 198; *id.*, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Apollodorus, iii. 1. 1; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* xv.; *id.*, *De dea Syria*, 4; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14.

³ Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 874 sq., *Amores*, i. 3. 23 sq.; Manilius, ii. 490, with Housman's note; Moschus, ii. 125-130; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* xv. 2.

⁴ Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 717-720; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21. As to Io and her transformations see Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 454 with the note, iii. 658, *Heroides*, xiv. 85-108, *Metamorph.* i. 588 sqq.; Apollodorus, ii. 1. 3; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 640 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

meaning of which has been much discussed both in ancient and modern times, is not mentioned in the ancient calendars, but it bears on the face of it the stamp of great antiquity, as has been generally recognized by modern scholars, with, perhaps, the single exception of Wissowa, who argues that it was instituted no earlier than the third century B.C., probably between the first and second Punic wars.¹ The ceremony was performed on the Sublician bridge,² the most ancient and for long the only bridge at Rome. The exact date of the ceremony is a little uncertain. Ovid clearly dates it on the day before the Ides of May (lines 603, 621), that is, on May 14; but according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the date was the Ides, that is, May 15.³ However, Dionysius expresses himself somewhat vaguely on this point, saying: "This down even to my time the Romans continued to do a little after the vernal equinox, in the month of May, on the so-called Ides, meaning the day to be the middle of the month." Similarly, but more vaguely, Plutarch says that the ceremony took place "in May, about the full moon".⁴ Hence some modern scholars, including Marquardt, Preller, and Warde Fowler, have tacitly accepted May 15 as the date of the ceremony; but it seems better, with Wissowa, to follow the usually well-informed Ovid in dating the ceremony on May 14. The difference of a day is not unimportant; for we have seen⁵ that the great majority of Roman festivals fell on odd days of the month, so that, if Ovid is right in his dating, the throwing of the puppets into the stream belonged to the very short list of exceptional festivals which fell on even days of the month. The exceptional character of the festival may have been its warrant for falling on an exceptional day of the month.

The fullest description of the ceremony is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says that down to his own time, on the Ides of May, "after offering the preliminary sacrifices according to the laws, the so-called Pontiffs (the most

¹ G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Argei", in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ii. 689-700; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 211-229.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 44; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 32.

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 38. 3.

⁴ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 32.

⁵ Above, p. 45.

illustrious of the priests), and with them the Virgins who guard the eternal fire, and the generals (praetors), and all the other citizens, who may lawfully attend the rites, fling effigies made in human form, thirty in number, from the sacred bridge into the stream of the Tiber, and the effigies they call Argei (Ἀργεῖοι)".¹ Varro's account of the rite is much briefer: "The Argei are twenty-seven effigies of men made of rushes: they are wont to be publicly thrown every year from the Sublician bridge by the priests into the stream."² Brief, too, is the account of Festus, or rather of his abbreviator Paulus Diaconus: ³ "They gave the name of Argei to the effigies of rushes which every year were thrown by the Vestal Virgins into the Tiber." Still briefer is Plutarch's notice of the rite: "Why in the month of May, about the full moon, do they throw effigies of men into the river, calling the effigies so thrown by the name Argei?"⁴ This, with Ovid's description in the present passage, is all that is on record in ancient writers as to the ritual of May 14 or 15, though it is probable that Varro described it fully in his lost writings, and that on his description the accounts of later writers are based.

But the name *Argei* or *Argea* was also applied to a number of chapels (*sacraria*), distributed over the four regions of Rome which were traditionally said to have been instituted by King Servius Tullius.⁵ The number of these chapels, if we accept a probable emendation of Varro's text, was twenty-seven.⁶ It is natural to connect these chapels with the puppets of the same name (*Argei*), which were thrown into the Tiber on May 14 or 15. If the text of

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 37. 3.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 44, "*Argei ab Argis; Argei fiunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum xxvii; ea quotannis de ponte sublicio a sacerdotibus publice deici solent in Tiberim*".

³ Festus, s.v. "Argeos", p. 14 ed. Lindsay, "*Argeos vocabant scirpeas effigies, quae per virgines Vestales annis singulis iaciebantur in Tiberim*".

⁴ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 32.

⁵ Livy, i. 43. 13.

⁶ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 45, "*Argeorum sacraria septem et viginti in <quatuor> partis urbi<s> sunt disposita*" (Spengel's correction of the MS. reading "*Argeorum sacraria in septem et viginti partis urbi sunt disposita*"). Compare Livy, i. 21. 5, "*Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit (Numa)*"; Festus, s.v. "Argea", p. 18 ed. Lindsay, "*Argea loca Romae appellantur, quod in his sepulti essent quidam Argivorum inlustres viri*".

Varro is correctly emended and read in the two passages which refer to them,¹ the number both of the chapels and of the puppets was twenty-seven, from which it appears that one puppet was sacrificed for each chapel, or for each local division of the city of which the chapel was the religious centre. But according to Reifferscheid the reading of the manuscript in the latter passage² is not xxvii (twenty-seven) but xxiiii (twenty-four); hence some scholars, including H. Jordan and J. Marquardt, would alter the text in the former passage also³ so as to make the number of chapels also twenty-four instead of twenty-seven, and they suppose that in each of the four Servian regions or local tribes of Rome⁴ there were six chapels called Argei or Argea, and that for each chapel, or corresponding local division, there was one puppet thrown into the river.⁵ We have seen that, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the number of the puppets thrown into the water was neither twenty-seven nor twenty-four, but thirty. If he was right, it is natural to suppose that one puppet was sacrificed for each of the thirty wards (*curiae*) of the city. But on such a point he was not likely to be so well informed as Varro; and as the manuscript evidence in both passages of Varro appears to favour the number twenty-seven, it seems safer to acquiesce in it, and to assume that twenty-seven was the number both of the chapels called Argei and of the similarly named puppets that were thrown from the bridge into the water.⁶

It was pointed out by Hermann Diels⁷ that the number twenty-seven (thrice nine) had a mystic significance in Greek and Roman ritual. Thus Oedipus was directed to lay thrice nine olive-sprays on the ground in praying to the

¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 45 and vii. 44.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vii. 44.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 45.

⁴ Livy, i. 43. 13.

⁵ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 238, 600; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.³ 191.

⁶ This preference for the number twenty-seven in both passages of Varro was, on mature consideration, accepted by Th. Mommsen, who had formerly favoured the number twenty-four in both passages. See Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1 (Leipzig, 1887), p. 125 note¹. In his *Roman History*, at least in the earlier editions of it, he had accepted twenty-four as the number of the Argei. See Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 57, 94.

⁷ H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 42 sq.

Furies.¹ And when the Athenian army before Syracuse, beaten, outnumbered, and ravaged with sickness, was about to sail for home, and all the orders for the departure had been given, it happened that the moon was eclipsed, and the soothsayers declared that neither fleet nor army could stir till thrice nine days should have elapsed.² The fatal delay cost Athens the finest armament that she ever sent to sea. At Rome in 207 B.C., during the long struggle with Hannibal, when the popular mind was more than usually perturbed by the report of alarming portents, the pontiffs decreed that thrice nine virgins should march through the city singing a hymn in honour of Queen Juno. The procession was headed by two white cows; behind them were carried two images of Queen Juno made of cypress wood, and the rear was brought up by the Ten Men (*Decemviri*) crowned with laurel. In this order the procession passed through the streets to the Forum, where it halted, and the twenty-seven virgins, holding a rope to keep them in line, marched beating time with their feet to the music of the hymn which they chanted.³ Again, in 200 B.C. fresh rumours of prodigies occurring in various parts of Italy induced the authorities at Rome to consult the never-failing fount of wisdom, the Sibylline books. The same time-honoured remedies were prescribed by the oracle; again thrice nine virgins marched through the city singing a hymn, and an offering was carried in procession to Queen Juno.⁴ In later Roman history similar processions of twenty-seven virgins chanting a hymn took place again and again for the purpose of purifying the city after the report of prodigies, especially after the birth or discovery of androgynous human beings, who in such cases were regularly drowned in the sea or a river. On two of these later occasions, as in the year 207 B.C., two images of Queen Juno made of cypress wood were carried in the procession and deposited in the temple of the goddess.⁵ Once

¹ Sophocles, *Oedipus Colon.* 483 sq.

² Thucydides, vii. 50. 4.

³ Livy, xxvii. 37.

⁴ Livy, xxxi. 12.

⁵ Julius Obsequens, *Prodigiorum liber*, pp. 160, 162, 165, 167, 168, 170 ed. Rossbach (under the years 133, 119, 104, 99, 97, and 92 B.C.) In the years 207 and 200 B.C. also the principal cause of alarm appears to have been the reported discovery of androgynous human beings, who were ordered to be thrown into the sea. See Livy, *ll.cc.*

more, at the Secular Games, celebrated by Augustus in 17 B.C., thrice nine boys and as many girls, all of them children of living parents, sang in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine the ode which Horace composed for the occasion, and which is still happily preserved among his works.¹

The number twenty-seven, as a multiple of the mystic three twice over, is naturally dear to oracle-mongers, magicians and the whole host of quacks who trade on the superstition and credulity of their more simple-minded fellows; we need not suppose that the Romans had to borrow this nostrum from the Greeks or from that farrago of nonsense, the Sibylline books.²

From Ovid we learn that a procession went to the twenty-seven chapels on March 16 and 17.³ What the ritual performed at that time may have been, we do not know, but it is a plausible conjecture that on these days the puppets of rushes were carried in procession to the chapels and left there till May 14 or 15, when they were brought forth, carried again in solemn procession through the streets to the Sublician bridge, and cast by the Vestals into the Tiber.⁴ Whatever was done on March 16 and 17, the procession which took place on these days would seem to have been a sad one, for while it was taking place the Flaminica, the wife of the Flamen Dialis, might neither comb nor dress her hair,⁵ a custom which is naturally interpreted of mourning or at least of religious abstinence. The Flaminica had to observe a similar rule from the first to the fifteenth of June.⁶

With regard to the origin and significance of the custom of throwing puppets called *Argei* into the Tiber on May 14 or 15, the ancients seem to have been as much in the dark as we are; their various and discrepant explanations, the principal of which are noticed by Ovid in the following lines, only tend to show that the true meaning of the rite

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5050, lines 147 *sqq.*, vol. ii. pars 1. p. 284; Zosimus, ii. 5; Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*.

² W. Warde Fowler, "The number twenty-seven in Roman ritual," *The Classical Review*, xvi. (1902) pp. 211-212.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 791 *sq.*

⁴ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 286.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 30.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 227-229, 713 *sq.*

was forgotten, apparently lost in the mists of antiquity. The name Argei was usually interpreted as equivalent to Argives, in the general sense of Greeks. Thus Varro thought that the Argei were the Greeks who came with the Argive Hercules and settled in Rome.¹ According to Festus, the chapels called Argea took their name from certain illustrious Argives buried in them.² In modern times this identification of Argei with Argives (*Ἀργεῖοι*) has been accepted by two eminent scholars, Mommsen and Wissowa.³ As to the rite itself, some of the ancients believed it to have been a substitute for human sacrifices which had been offered in earlier and ruder days, until Hercules, driving the kine of Geryon from Spain to Greece, passed through Rome and persuaded the barbarous aborigines to substitute effigies of rushes for the human victims whom they had previously sacrificed. This was the theory of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who supposed that the human sacrifices had been offered to Saturn: he compared the human sacrifices formerly offered in Carthage to the god whom the Greeks and Romans identified with Cronus or Saturn, and he referred to the human sacrifices which in his own time (about the beginning of our era) were still offered by the Celts and other tribes of western Europe.⁴ The same explanation of the rite was adopted by Lactantius.⁵ Another theory, while it referred the institution of the rite to Hercules, dropped the view that it was a substitute for human sacrifice, and supposed that the puppets of rushes represented the Greek companions of Hercules who had died and been buried in Rome, and whose effigies were thrown into the river in order that its current might bear them away to their native land, while their bodies or ashes remained behind in Italy. This is the explanation which Ovid puts into the mouth of the river Tiber (lines 639-660). It was also adopted by a certain Epicadus,⁶ probably the grammarian Cornelius Epicadus, a freedman of Sulla, who

¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 45, vii. 44.

² Festus, s.v. "Argea", p. 18 ed. Lindsay.

³ Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1 (Leipzig, 1887), p. 123; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 224.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 37.

⁵ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 21.

⁶ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 11. 47.

completed the memoirs which his master, the dictator, had left unfinished at his death.¹ Yet another theory, mentioned but rejected by Ovid, was that in ancient times men sixty years of age used to be put to death by being thrown from the bridge into the river, and in support of this view the proverb "Sexagenarians from the bridge" was quoted.² According to one account, the custom of thus ridding the city of the incumbrance of the aged and infirm was instituted after the capture of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. in order to reduce the superfluous population at a time of famine, but the custom was soon abolished out of respect for the filial devotion of a son who had saved the life of his aged father by concealing him from the pursuit of the constables, who would have hurried the old man to the bridge and heaved him into the water.³

A modification of this theory explained the proverb "Sexagenarians from the bridge" in a more merciful sense. On this view the bridge from which old men were flung was not the bridge over the Tiber, but merely the so-called bridge over which the citizens passed in giving their votes in the place of public assembly, and the proposal of the young men was not to drown, but simply to disfranchise, their elders by excluding them from what we might call the polling-booths. This theory is mentioned by Ovid (lines 633-634); it had the support of Varro,⁴ and it was warmly adopted by Festus and probably therefore by his authority Verrius Flaccus; at all events Festus speaks of it as most certainly the true explanation.⁵ But this was perhaps only a pious antiquary's attempt to save the credit of his barbarous forefathers. In popular parlance the proverb would seem to have been always understood to refer to an ancient custom of summarily despatching all persons whose years exceeded the natural and reasonable limit of sixty; for in one of his speeches Cicero describes a ruffian who, by cold

¹ Suetonius, *De grammaticis*, 12.

² Festus, s.v. "Sexagenarios", p. 450 ed. Lindsay.

³ Festus, s.v. "Sexagenarios", p. 452 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Varro, *De vita populi Romani*, lib. ii., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 523 ed. Mercer, p. 842 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Sexagenarios", p. 452 ed. Lindsay, "*Exploratissimum illud est causae*".

steel, poison, and so forth had exhausted all the possible forms of homicide and had even capped his crimes by tumbling an old gentleman from the bridge into the river, though his victim had not attained the legal age of sixty, at which it would have been his privilege and even duty to find a watery grave in the arms of Father Tiber.¹ This breach of time-honoured custom would seem to have stirred the orator's honest indignation more than all the other crimes laid to the charge of the desperado; to stab or poison a person was a comparatively venial offence, but to drown a man under sixty was really to go beyond the line. Indeed, so rooted in the Roman mind was the association of sexagenarians with a bridge and a watery death that an appropriate and expressive word was coined to describe them—they were called Depontans (*depontani*), which means "Down from the bridge with them!"²

In modern times Wissowa adopted the theory that the puppets thrown into the Tiber on May 14 were, as many of the ancients believed, substitutes for human victims who had formerly been drowned on that day. Arguing from the absence of any notice of the ceremony in the ancient calendars, he supposed that the sacrifice was of comparatively recent origin. He conjectured that at some time in the third century B.C., probably between the first and second Punic wars, in a season of dire distress and anxiety, the Sibylline books had been consulted, and that from the pages of the sacred volume an oracle had been produced which ordained the drowning of thrice nine Greeks in the Tiber as an expiatory sacrifice to appease the angry gods and save the commonwealth. The thing, according to Wissowa, was actually done, but after the drowning of the first batch of live men or women, humane feeling interfered and substituted puppets of rushes for victims of flesh and blood; and since the sham sacrifice was found, as we might have anticipated, to be quite as effectual as the real one, it was continued ever afterwards. In support of this theory Wissowa pointed to two cases of human sacrifice offered by the Romans in obedience to the Sibylline oracles towards the end of the

¹ Cicero, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, 35. 100.

² Festus, s.v. "*Depontani*", p. 66 ed. Lindsay.

third century B.C. In both of them two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two Greeks, a man and a woman, were buried alive in the Forum Boarium. The first case occurred in 226 B.C., when the Republic was alarmed by the prospect of a Gallic war; ¹ the second case occurred in 216 B.C., during the consternation which followed the dreadful defeat of Cannae; ² in both cases the four unhappy victims were immured in a subterranean dungeon in the Cattle Market (*forum Boarium*) and left to perish there of suffocation and hunger: so the gods were supposed to be appeased.³

This theory would explain well enough both the rite itself and the absence of all mention of it in the ancient calendars. But the serious, indeed fatal, objection to it is that so atrocious a sacrifice, performed only about two centuries before the Augustan age and the lifetime of Ovid, could hardly have been so completely forgotten by the historians and antiquaries of that time that they were reduced to a series of discrepant guesses as to the origin of the rite, which for the most part they referred to a mythical past, or to the capture of Rome by the Gauls at the very latest. Varro himself, the most learned antiquary of Rome, traced the Argei back to the Greek companions of Hercules. That he should have been ignorant, as he clearly was, of the true origin of the custom in the sacrifice of twenty-seven Greeks, perpetrated only two centuries or less before the time when he was writing, is so improbable as to be practically incredible. On this ground chiefly Wissowa's theory has been rightly rejected by Warde Fowler ⁴ and Professor H. J. Rose.⁵

A different theory of the Argei was suggested by the great German mythologist, W. Mannhardt. He proposed to regard the puppets thrown into the Tiber as representing the dying spirit of vegetation in spring, who at the beginning of summer was carried out to burial and thrown into the river,

¹ Orosius, iv. 13. 3; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 3. 4.

² Livy, xxii. 57. 6.

³ "*Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis*", Livy, xxii. 57. 6 sq. See G. Wissowa, "Argei," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 211-229.

⁴ W. Warde Fowler, "Dr. Wissowa on the Argei", *The Classical Review*, xvi. (1902) pp. 115-119; *id.*, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), pp. 321-323.

⁵ H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1924), p. 99.

in order that, revived by the water, he might return in fresh vigour next year to animate the crops and other fruits of the earth. This ingenious theory Mannhardt supported by many parallel customs of modern European peasants, in which the old and outworn Spirit of Vegetation is certainly thus represented by puppets thrown into water. But he admitted that the date of the ceremony in the middle of May, which the Romans reckoned the beginning of summer,¹ was not a very suitable one for the death and burial of the Spirit of Vegetation, who at that season might rather be thought to be in the very flower of his age, a bridegroom in his wedding bower rather than a decrepit old dotard with one foot in the grave. Certainly in central and northern Europe the month of May, with its profusion of lovely blossoms, has long been deemed the fittest time for the mimic marriage of the human personifications of vegetation, the King and Queen of May.

*"Love, whose month is ever May,
Spied a blossom passing fair
Playing in the wanton air."*²

To meet this serious objection to his theory Mannhardt was driven to conjecture that the Roman custom of throwing the puppets into the water may originally have been celebrated in the height of summer, perhaps on or about Midsummer Day, when in southern Europe vegetation droops under the blaze of the sun, and the shortening days herald the approach of autumn and winter. The shift of date from the end of June to the middle of May, he thought, may have occurred under the old unreformed calendar, when, through the mismanagement of the pontiffs, the times were out of joint, and the festivals fell out of their natural places in the solar year. But this is a mere conjecture, unsupported by evidence.³ Nevertheless, Mannhardt's theory has been in general accepted by Warde Fowler⁴ and by Professor H. J. Rose.⁵

¹ See above, p. 45.

² Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Sc. 3.

³ W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 265-273.

⁴ W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 111-121; *The Classical Review*, xvi. (1902) p. 119.

⁵ H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 99.

But Mannhardt's theory of the Argei is open to other objections than the unsuitability of the middle of May for the death and burial of the Vegetation Spirit. Indeed, so far as I can see, there is little or nothing in the time, the place, the ritual, or the performers to suggest that the ceremony had anything whatever to do with vegetation. The puppets, indeed, were made of rushes ; but it will hardly be suggested that the purpose of throwing them into the water was to revive the dying spirit of rushes in order to ensure a good crop of rushes next year ; we cannot suppose that the Roman State would have set in motion the machinery of its most dignified priesthoods in order to achieve so trivial an object, an object which nature, without the aid of religion, accomplishes every year in every marsh and on every river bank, an object which no class of the community, with the possible exception of basket-makers, has any interest in promoting. The case would have been very different if the puppets had been made of corn-stalks ; for corn is a staple of life, especially with southern peoples, and innumerable are the religious and magical rites which have been performed for the express purpose of promoting its growth. To take a single case, it has been a very common custom in Europe to make puppets in rudely human form out of the last sheaf of corn reaped at harvest and to drench them with water as a charm to secure a sufficient supply of rain for next year's crop.¹ Hence if the Argei had been made of corn-stalks at harvest time, the practice of throwing them into the river might reasonably and probably have been interpreted as a rain-charm designed to benefit the crops of the following year.

Again, the rite was performed by the pontiffs and Vestals. From the evidence of Ovid, compared with that of Festus, or rather Paulus Diaconus,² we infer that the actual throwing of the puppets into the river was done by the Vestals. But there was little in the character and functions of the Vestals and pontiffs to connect them with the Spirit of Vegetation, though it is true that at the Fordicidia, as we have seen,³ the pontiffs and

¹ *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 237-239 ; *id.*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 133 *sqq.*

² See above, p. 76.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 630 *sqq.* with the notes.

the Vestals co-operated in rites which unquestionably aimed at promoting the fruitfulness both of the earth and of cattle. It is also true that from the 7th to the 14th of May the three senior Vestals were engaged, on alternate days, in pounding, roasting, and grinding spelt, which afterwards, thrice a year, they baked into salted cakes at the Lupercalia, at the Vestalia, and on the Ides (the 13th) of September;¹ but here again the relation of their activity to the Spirit of Vegetation is somewhat remote; for the vegetation net must be thrown very widely if it is to catch millers and bakers as well as sowers and reapers. Again, the place where the ceremony was performed, namely, the old bridge over the Tiber, is hardly one where we should expect to meet the Spirit of Vegetation. It is true that the bridge was made of wood, and that wood is undoubtedly a vegetable substance, but of itself this scarcely sufficed to mark out the bridge as a suitable spot for the performance of fertility rites; for no one will maintain that these rites were intended to make the logs and piles of the bridge burst into leaf and blossom again, as in the days when their branches waved in the greenwood. No doubt, as the advocates of the Vegetation Spirit allege, puppets representing him are sometimes thrown from bridges into the water;² but in such cases the position on the bridge is a simple matter of practical convenience, it is not an essential part of the rite, as the Sublician bridge would seem to have been in the ritual of the Argei. To this point we shall return presently.

On the whole, then, with all deference for the insight and learning of Mannhardt, I find no sufficient reasons for regarding the ceremony of the Argei as a fertility rite. Plutarch describes the throwing of the puppets from the bridge into the river as "the greatest of the purifications",³ and this description is hardly applicable to a fertility rite, which aims at a positive rather than a negative result, at the production of good rather than the riddance of evil.

But this description of Plutarch suggests an entirely different interpretation of the rite, and one which can be supported by world-wide analogies. In many parts of the

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82.

² W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus*, p. 353.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 86.

world it has been customary to set apart a day or several days every year for the public and general expulsion of all the evils which are supposed to have accumulated in the country or the town during the past year. Often these evils are personified as demons or ghosts, and the ceremony takes the form of chasing these malignant and dangerous beings out of the houses and driving them beyond the boundaries. Where the people dwell beside a river or the sea, the demons are often sent away in boats, which are allowed to drift down stream or out to sea, carrying their baleful burden far away from the homes of the people, who now rejoice in the persuasion that they have got rid of all their troubles at one swoop. Sometimes the demons and ghosts are supposed to be attached to, or embodied in, effigies, which are accordingly cast out with great ceremony. Such general and public expulsions of evils or devils are often performed, not only annually, but on special occasions, whenever the prevalence of some general distress, such as an epidemic, suggests to the minds of the sufferers that the powers of evil are swarming in the air about them. Elsewhere I have given many instances of such rites of public expulsion, whether annual or occasional.¹ Here I will quote only a single example, choosing it for the resemblance which, in some respects, it presents to the ritual of the Argei :

“ At Old Calabar, on the coast of Guinea, the devils and ghosts are, or used to be, publicly expelled once in two years. Among the spirits thus driven from their haunts are the souls of all the people who died since the last lustration of the town. About three weeks or a month before the expulsion, which, according to one account, takes place in the month of November, rude effigies representing men and animals, such as crocodiles, leopards, elephants, bullocks, and birds, are made of wicker-work or wood, and being hung with strips of cloth and bedizened with gew-gaws, are set before the door of every house. About three o'clock in the morning of the day appointed for the ceremony the whole population turns out into the streets, and proceeds with a deafening uproar and in a state of the wildest excitement to drive all lurking devils and ghosts into the effigies, in order that they may be banished

¹ *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 109-273.

with them from the abodes of men. For this purpose bands of people roam through the streets knocking on doors, firing guns, beating drums, blowing on horns, ringing bells, clattering pots and pans, shouting and hallooing with might and main; in short, making all the noise it is possible for them to raise. The hubbub goes on till the approach of dawn, when it gradually subsides and ceases altogether at sunrise. By this time the houses have been thoroughly swept, and all the frightened spirits are supposed to have huddled into the effigies or their fluttering drapery. In these wicker figures are also deposited the sweepings of the houses and the ashes of yesterday's fires. Then the demon-laden images are hastily snatched up, carried in tumultuous procession down to the brink of the river, and thrown into the water to the tuck of drums. The ebb-tide bears them away seaward, and thus the town is swept clean of ghosts and devils for another two years. This biennial expulsion of spirits goes by the name of *Ndok*, and the effigies by which it is effected are called *Nabikem* or *Nabikim*"¹ According to Miss Mary H. Kingsley, the ceremony takes place either every November or every second November, and the effigies are set up in the houses themselves.² According to Mr. H. Goldie, the spirits expelled are "all the ghosts of those who have died since the last lustration".³

Now if we could suppose that the Argei represented the accumulated demons and ghosts of the whole year, including the spirits of all the human dead who had died in that time, the resemblance between the Roman and the African customs would be close, and Plutarch would be perfectly justified in describing the ceremony of the Argei as the "greatest of the purifications", for wherever such an annual expulsion of evils takes place, it is unquestionably the greatest purification or lustration of the year. Further, it is to be noted that in the African custom the effigies which are thrown into the river have been set up either in the houses or before the doors three weeks or a month before they are carried forth to be thrown

¹ *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 203 sq., with the references to the authorities.

² Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), p. 495.

³ Hugh Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, New Edition (Edinburgh and London, 1901), pp. 49 sq.

into the river. Similarly we have seen above that, according to a plausible conjecture, the effigies called Argei at Rome were laid up in the chapels named after them about two months before they were thrown into the Tiber. If the conjecture is right, we might suppose that in both cases the intention of thus laying up the effigies for a month or two was to allow the demoniacal and ghostly influence to soak into them, in order that they might be thoroughly charged or saturated with it by the time when they were cast into the river. Further, it is to be noted that in the African custom the sweepings of the houses and the ashes of the domestic fires are deposited in the effigies which are thrown into the water. Now at Rome, just a month after the effigies had been thrown into the river, the temple of Vesta was swept out, and the sweepings, according to Ovid,¹ were cast into the Tiber, a service presumably performed by the Vestals who had similarly thrown the puppets into the river. However, according to other and probably better authorities, the sweepings of the temple of Vesta were not thrown into the river, but deposited in a sort of sacred dust-hole on the Capitol.² Lastly, it is perhaps worth noticing that according to one etymology, favoured by some modern scholars, the name Argei is derived from the same root *arg* signifying "white", which meets us in *argentum*, "silver", and *argilla*, "white clay".³ On the present interpretation of the Argei, their name might mean the Pale or possibly the Sheeted Dead. We know from Horace that Death is pale when he knocks at the door alike of cottage and castle,⁴ and from Tibullus that pale are the ghosts that hover over the Stygian pools.⁵

Some confirmation of this theory of the Argei is perhaps furnished by the observation that the three days of the Lemuria, the festival at which the ghosts visited the houses of their descendants and were afterwards formally expelled from them, ended on May 13, that is, on the very day before

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 227 sq., 713 sq.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 32; Festus, s.v. "Stercus", p. 466 ed. Lindsay.

³ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 191, note 2; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 113; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 99.

⁴ Horace, *Odes*, i. 4. 13 sq.

⁵ Tibullus, i. 10. 38.

the Argei were carried out and thrown into the water.¹ The immediate sequence suggests that, while the Lemuria was the private expulsion of ghosts which every man performed at his own house, the ceremony of the Argei was the public expulsion of the same uncanny visitors on the following day. For a little reflection will probably satisfy us that, though on the three days of the Lemuria the ghosts had been turned out of private dwellings, there still remained the temples and other public buildings in which many of them might be lurking, not to mention the untold multitudes of them who, after being ejected from the houses, might still be loafing about the streets. In these circumstances common prudence must have suggested the advisability of a general cleaning up of the city, sweeping out the laggard and stowaway ghosts from the last hole and corner in which they had secreted themselves, and then emptying the whole goblin crew into the Tiber. Such, on this hypothesis, was the real meaning of the ritual of the Argei. It was the logical sequel and complement of the Lemuria which immediately preceded it.

This interpretation of the puppets thrown into the Tiber may perhaps be further confirmed by a comparison of them with the effigies which were hung up on Roman houses at the festival of the Compitalia, that is, the Festival of the Cross-roads. It is notorious that ghosts love to haunt cross-roads; hence when the Romans were celebrating the Festival of the Cross-roads they took the precaution of hanging up woollen effigies of men and women at the cross-roads and at the doors of their houses by night, one effigy for every member of the family, in the hope that the ghosts and the powers of darkness (*di inferi*) in general would take these effigies and spare the living inmates. But it was only for the free members of a family that these woollen effigies of men and women were hung at the doors of houses; for slaves simple balls were suspended, one for every slave in the house, and no doubt they served the purpose quite as well as the effigies.² To complete the resemblance of

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 421, with the note.

² Festus, s.v. "Laneae", p. 108 ed. Lindsay; *id.*, s.v. "Pilae et effigies", p. 273 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 34-35.

these woollen effigies at the Compitalia to the puppets of rushes at the ceremony on May 14, they were said to be substitutes for boys who, in the time of Tarquin the Proud, had been sacrificed at the Compitalia to Mania, the mother of the Lares, in order to save the lives of the rest of the family; the merciful substitution of images for human victims was reported to have been introduced by the good consul Junius Brutus on the expulsion of the Tarquins.¹ But probably the theory of the substitution of puppets for human victims was as ill-founded in the one case as in the other. Be that as it may, one thing is perfectly clear; whatever these woollen effigies at the Compitalia signified, they did not represent the Spirit of Vegetation; they were offered as baits to the powers of darkness and death that these dreadful beings might go off either with or in them, and that so departing they might leave the living in peace and safety. And the same may perhaps have been the intention of the puppets thrown into the Tiber on the fourteenth of May.

But there is another and simpler explanation of the Argei which deserves to be considered. They were puppets thrown by the priests and priestesses from the old bridge into the river. May they not have been offerings to the river-god to pacify him and to induce him to put up with the indignity of having a bridge built across his stream? There is much to be said for this explanation, which 'I suggested many years ago,² and which I still incline to think the most probable. It had previously been given, without my knowledge, by J. Hartung,³ Th. Mommsen,⁴ and H. Jordan,⁵ and it has since been advocated independently by R. von Ihering⁶ and J. Toutain.⁷ Warde Fowler tells

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 34.

² J. G. Frazer, "The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires," *The Journal of Philology*, xiv. (1885) p. 156 note ².

³ J. Hartung, *Religion der Römer* (Erlangen, 1836), ii. 103-106.

⁴ Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 194, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 1. pp. 123 sq.

⁵ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1. p. 398.

⁶ R. von Ihering, *Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropäer* (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 430 sqq.

⁷ J. Toutain, "Les Sacrifices humains et le Culte des Divinités fluviales," *Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923* (Paris, 1925), vol. ii. pp. 159-162.

us that Professor Nettleship once expressed this view to him.¹ It is a common belief that persons drowned in a river are taken by the god or spirit of the river, and that to attempt to rescue them would be to commit sacrilege by defrauding the deity of his dues.² For example, in Bohemia fishermen do not dare to rescue a drowning man, because they fear that the water-spirit would spoil all their luck in fishing and would drown them at the first opportunity.³ This belief is attested for India as well as for Europe.⁴ Thus in various parts of the Bombay Presidency it is commonly held that a drowning person is being claimed by water-spirits, and that any one who should attempt to rescue him would also become a victim, or at all events that the water-spirit, deprived of his victim, will bring some evil on the rescuer.⁵ The Kamtchatkans of old went still further. If a man fell into the water, not only would they not help him out, but they held his head forcibly under till he was drowned. If he succeeded in struggling ashore, he was thought to have committed a great sin and was treated as if he were dead. No one would speak to him, or give him food, or let him into the house. He had either to go into exile or die of hunger at home.⁶

We can therefore easily imagine the indignation which the river-god must feel at the sight of a bridge and of people passing dryshod across it, who in the course of nature would have been drowned at the ford. Thus the deity is robbed of his prey; the bread, so to say, is taken out of his mouth, and he naturally puts in a claim for compensation. That claim the Romans may have attempted to satisfy by throwing, once a year, the puppets in human shape from the offending bridge into the yellow stream, one puppet for every ward or parish of the ancient city, trusting that the

¹ W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 114 note ⁶.

² E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* ² (London, 1873), i. 108-110.

³ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* (Prague and Leipzig, 1864), p. 12, No. 41.

⁴ W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 62.

⁵ R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 108, 109.

⁶ G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* (Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774), p. 295.

river-god would graciously accept them instead of live men and women, and that, thus contented, he would not rise in flood and come in person to snatch his prey from the streets and houses of Rome. On this hypothesis nothing could be more appropriate than that the vicarious offerings should be thrown from the bridge, since the bridge was the head and front of that offence which the sacrifice was intended to expiate; and nothing could be more fitting than that the offering should be made under the auspices, if not by the hands, of the pontiffs, whose very name, signifying "bridge-makers", marked them out as the culprits responsible for the sacrilege, and therefore as the penitents bound to atone for it. This derivation of the name *pontifex*, from *pons* "a bridge" and *facere* "to make," is indeed so obvious that it did not escape even the ancients, who in matters of etymology very seldom blundered into the truth. It was accepted by Varro,¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus,² and indeed by the majority of ancient writers, according to Plutarch, who himself, however, stigmatized it as ridiculous.³ In modern times this derivation has been accepted as the only possible one by some of the best scholars, including Mommsen, H. Jordan, Preller, and Wissowa, and we may safely acquiesce in it.⁴ The same derivation was adopted by B. W. Leist,⁵ J. H. Middleton,⁶ and R. von Ihering.⁷ The bridge at Rome which the pontiffs are traditionally said to have built was the very same Sublician bridge from which the puppets were thrown⁸; the tradition of its construction was preserved in the Song of the Salii, one of the oldest documents of the Latin language.⁹ This bridge was the first ever built at

¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 83.

² Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 73. 1.

³ Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 2; compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166.

⁴ Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 189 sq.; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 396 sq.; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 235 sq.; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*², ii. 134; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 503 note².

⁵ B. W. Leist, *Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte* (Jena, 1884), pp. 182 sqq.

⁶ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 362.

⁷ R. von Ihering, *Vorgeschichte der Indoeuropäer* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 426.

⁸ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 83.

⁹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166, "*Ex qua etiam causa Pontifices a ponte sublicio, qui primus Tibri impositus est, appellatos tradunt, sicut Saliorum carmina loquuntur*".

Rome ; its construction was referred to the reign of King Ancus Marcius.¹ It was built solely of wood, without the use of any metal : the beams were fastened together without bronze or iron clamps : this mode of construction was enjoined by an oracle. Hence the bridge was deemed sacred ; to pull it down would have been not only illegal, but sacrilegious : its custody and maintenance were committed to the pontiffs, who had to perform certain solemn rites and sacrifices on both sides of the river whenever the bridge stood in need of repairs. Thus was the old wooden bridge at Rome kept in repair and regarded with religious veneration down at least to the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his contemporary Ovid at the beginning of our era.² For centuries it was the only bridge at Rome. The first stone bridge was apparently not built, or rather begun, until 179 B.C., and even then it was only the piers which were fixed in the bed of the river : the arches were not superposed on them till some years afterwards.³ One of the religious rites performed on the old wooden bridge would seem to have been a dance of the Salii, the dancing priests of Mars.⁴ This is not, indeed, expressly affirmed by any ancient writer, but we may infer it with some probability, first, from the mention of the bridge in the Salian hymn,⁵ and, second, from an allusion in Catullus, who prayed that a bridge which a provincial town was building might prove strong enough to support a dance even of the Salii.⁶ However, this inference is uncertain.⁷

In the regulation, which seems always to have been

¹ Livy, i. 33. 6; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 45. 2; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 4.

² Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 45. 2, v. 24. 1; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 3; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 83; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 100.

³ Livy, xl. 51. 1; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 3; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 362-364. However, the date of the building of the first stone bridge at Rome is a disputed question. On the whole subject of Roman bridges see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 393 *sqq.*

⁴ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 398 *sq.*

⁵ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166.

⁶ Catullus, xvii. 1-6. Compare Th. Birt, "Pontifex und Sexagenarii de ponte," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., lxxv. (1926) pp. 115 *sqq.*

⁷ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 558 note ¹.

adhered to, that the Sublician bridge must be constructed of wood alone without iron or bronze in any part of it, Mommsen saw a wise precaution adopted by the Romans in early days in order to enable them to break down or burn the bridge at any moment on the approach of an enemy from the other side of the Tiber.¹ It seems more likely that the rule was based on a religious objection to the use of iron or of any metal. Plutarch says that the regulation was adopted in obedience to an oracle.² For a similar reason probably the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem was built without the use of any iron tool;³ and in the instructions which He gave to the Israelites for the making of His altar the Deity expressly enjoined that, "If thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it."⁴ The sentiments of Father Tiber on this subject were probably identical with those of Jehovah; as a general rule gods are opposed to innovations, and the introduction of iron was one of the most momentous innovations in the history of mankind. The council-house at Cyzicus was built without an iron nail, and Pliny compared its construction to that of the Sublician bridge at Rome, though he seems to have traced the avoidance of iron in the bridge to the difficulty that had been experienced in breaking it down when it was defended by Horatius Cocles against the Etruscans.⁵ Kings, like gods, are very conservative; it is therefore not surprising to learn that "the king of Corea is hedged round with a divinity that has an antipathy to iron. This metal must never touch his august body."⁶

From all this it appears that the old wooden bridge at Rome was no common bridge; it always subsisted in the odour of sanctity, and we may reasonably suppose that the bridge derived its sacredness from its relation to the river-god

¹ Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 56.

² Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 3.

³ 1 Kings vi. 7.

⁴ Exodus xx. 25.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 100. As to the defence of the bridge by Horatius Cocles see Livy, ii. 10.

⁶ W. E. Griffis, *Corea the Hermit Nation* (London, 1882), p. 219. As to the religious prohibition of iron see further *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 225 sqq.

over whose head it was carried, and whom it was essential to keep in good humour, lest in his wrath he should sweep away the intruding structure and swamp the city. That the Romans felt the need of propitiating the gods of rivers appears from their custom of taking the auspices before crossing a river; there was a regular word (*peremne*) for such auspices; it was especially applied to the omens taken by a magistrate when he crossed the Petronia, a tributary of the Tiber, to perform some official business in the country.¹ If such respect was due to an insignificant tributary, how great must have been the awe inspired by Father Tiber himself! However, several of the interlocutors in Cicero's dialogues lament that the good old custom of taking the auspices at crossing a river had quite gone out of fashion in their day.²

Yet if people at home had thus become neglectful of their religious duties, and failed to show due deference to the water-spirits in the neighbourhood of Rome, it was not so with Roman armies in the field even as late as Cicero's day. When Lucullus crossed the Euphrates at the head of his army, he sacrificed a bull to the river for the passage; and when he landed on the farther bank he sacrificed a heifer of the sacred herd which pastured there and was esteemed by the natives to belong to the goddess Anaitis or the Persian Artemis, as she was called by the Greeks. The heifer seemed to offer herself to the sacrifice by standing on a rock which was sacred to the goddess.³ Not many years afterwards another Roman army crossed the Euphrates, but under different auspices and to a different fate. When the army of Crassus reached the Euphrates and prepared to pass the bridge, it seemed as if the very heavens frowned on the doomed general and his soldiers. For the fog lay so thick on the river that the men could not see the farther bank till they set foot on it, and in marching across the bridge they stumbled and fell over each other. A storm, too, burst upon them, sweeping away one of the great fluttering standards, like sails, inscribed with purple letters, which had been set up on the

¹ Festus, *s.vv.* "Peremne" and "Petronia", pp. 284, 296 ed. Lindsay.

² Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 3. 9, *De divinatione*, ii. 36. 77.

³ Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 24. 6-7.

bridge to direct the orderly passage of the troops. And above the roar of the tempest the thunder pealed and the lightning flashed, striking the bridge and rending it asunder before the army had completed the crossing. Worst of all, the omens from the sacrifices offered both before and after the passage were in the last degree dire and menacing. No wonder that the soldiers marched with heavy hearts to meet the enemy.¹ From this description of the Greek historian we may infer that on active service a Roman army regularly sacrificed both before and after crossing a great river, especially when on the opposite bank lay the enemy's country. When Cæsar crossed the Rubicon at the head of his army, he dedicated, but did not sacrifice, herds of horses to the river. The animals were left free to roam at will without a herdsman; and shortly before Caesar's assassination they are said to have foreboded the coming calamity by refusing to eat and weeping bitterly.²

The belief that the spirit of a river demands a sacrifice of one or more human victims every year persists in some parts of Europe till this day, or at all events it did so until well on in the nineteenth century. In Germany there are still many rivers and lakes that thus clamour for a yearly victim; the favourite victims are innocent children.³ In Oldenburg the rivers expect a victim every year, and if they do not get it, a voice is heard from the water demanding the annual tribute. After that somebody is sure to be drowned very soon.⁴ In Bohemia and Moravia the belief in water-spirits is universally prevalent, and in some places when a woman goes out for the first time after childbirth and has to cross a bridge, she drops some money into the river in order that the spirit of the river may not draw her child down into the water.⁵ The "water-man" of the river Wien near Vienna demands at least one victim a year. He keeps the souls of his

¹ Dio Cassius, xl. 18, whose words as to the omens are καὶ τὰ διαβάρηματα τε ἀπὸ βαρὰ σφίσι δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο.

² Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 81. 2.

³ A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* (Berlin, 1869), § 42, p. 38; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, iii. 143.

⁴ L. Strackerjan, *Aberglauben und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1867), i. 419.

⁵ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* (Prague and Leipzig, 1864), pp. 11, 115.

victims under pots.¹ Sometimes the sacrifice is connected with a particular bridge. Thus in Pomerania, between Treptow and Greiffenberg, there is a sawmill on the river Rega, and beside it is a bridge over the river called the Maiden's Bridge. There every year the river, or rather the water-maiden, demands her victim, and if the man or woman doomed by fate to be drowned in the stream is long of coming, the water-maiden grows impatient, and rising with half her body out of the stream, she cries, "The hour is come, but still the man will not come". After that it is never long before somebody is drowned in the Rega and his or her blood sucked by the water-maiden. So, too, the Lake of Tempelburg in Pomerania calls for at least one human victim a year, though he or she prefers to catch three of them at once. We read that two men, passing the lake by night, heard a voice crying from the darkness, "The hour is come, but the man will not come!" But they knew their danger, and taking to their heels they were lucky enough to escape.² It is noteworthy that the voice of the river-spirit calling for his or her victim is often heard to proceed from beneath a bridge.³ In some parts of Silesia the water-spirit demands three victims every year, but in other parts he contents himself with one.⁴

Sometimes the spirit of the river, apparently like Father Tiber at Rome, requires to have his victims delivered to him punctually on a certain day or days of the year. In Germany and Bohemia among the days on which the water-spirits are especially on the alert to catch their prey are Walpurgis Night (the Eve of May Day), Ascension Day, Midsummer Day or Midsummer Eve, and St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day (the twenty-ninth of June). On such days prudent people are naturally careful not to bathe in a river or lake and not even to cross a bridge.⁵ In

¹ Th. Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich* (Wien, 1859), p. 167.

² Ulrich Jahn, *Volksagen aus Pommern und Rügen* (Stettin, 1886), pp. 153 sq.

³ J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1852-1857), ii. 302.

⁴ P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903-1906), ii. 168.

⁵ A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* (Berlin, 1869), § 42, p. 38.

Germany a favourite day for the sacrifice is Midsummer Day or St. John's Day, which appears to have been associated with an old heathen water-god long before the Church gave it a varnish of Christianity by dedicating the day to St. John the Baptist. The beautiful Neckar, which flows between wooded hills and under the castle-crowned steep of Heidelberg, is one of the rivers that thirst for the blood of a human victim on Midsummer Day. That is why at places on the banks of the river, such as Berg, Kannstadt, and Heilbronn, it is a rule that nobody should bathe in the river on that fateful day. Many a bold lad has defied the danger by plunging into the stream, but one of them has always been drowned. At Heidelberg itself the water-sprite is on the look-out for his prey for three days at this season, that is, on Midsummer Eve, Midsummer Day, and the day after ; therefore no wise man will bathe in the river on any of these three days. And at night if you hear a shriek from the river, beware of running to the rescue, for the water-sprite can mimic the cry of a drowning man to lure you to your doom. At Rotenburg on the Neckar they throw a loaf into the river on Midsummer Day ; for if they did not, the river would grow wild and carry somebody away.¹ With these loaves thrown into the river on Midsummer Day as substitutes for human victims we may compare the puppets thrown into the Tiber on May 14. At Quedlinburg, in North Germany, it used to be customary to throw a black cock at a particular time every year into the Bode ; for if this was not done, somebody² was sure to be drowned in the river within the year.³ In the Mark of Brandenburg many waters demand a human victim by drowning on certain definite days, particularly on St. John's Day (Midsummer Day) ; hence many boatmen will not put out but make holiday on that day.³ In Western

¹ Ernst Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben* (Stuttgart, 1852), pp. 428 sq. Similarly people throw bread and fruit every year into the Diemel as an offering to the water-fairy (*Nix*). See J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, p. 409.

² A. Kuhn und W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 172 ; K. Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz* (Leipzig, 1862-1863), i. 48.

³ A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), p. 374. Compare E. John, *Aberglaube, Sitte und Brauch im sächsischen Erzgebirge* (Annaberg, 1909), p. 207.

Bohemia the 'water-spirits crave three human victims on St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day (the 29th of June); hence prudent people are careful not to bathe on that particular day.¹ Among the rivers which demand a victim every year is the Danube; therefore even strong swimmers are bidden to beware how they venture in the water.² Another German river that expects an annual victim is the Saal, or rather its water-maiden; the belief is especially prevalent among the fishermen of Jena; they will not draw from the river the corpse of a drowned person till three days after the death, for they regard the corpse as a sacrificial victim due to the water-sprite.³ Hence in Germany, when a man is drowning in a river, they say, "The spirit of the stream is getting his yearly victim".⁴

In England, mothers who live near the river Wye, in the neighbourhood of Hay, warn their children not to go near it lest "the spirit" should drag them in. Some years ago, when a boy was drowned in the river at Ross, it was remarked that his brothers would now be careful to keep away from the bank. But an old man, hearing this remark, said, "Let 'em go, let 'em go, no one else'll be drowned this year, the river has had its due."⁵ In Scotland it is commonly believed that the river Spey demands at least one victim every year.⁶ In Yorkshire the spirit of the Ribble, called Peg o' Nell, was more moderate in her demands; she was content with a life every seven years.⁷

Similar conceptions of rivers as personal beings, or as inhabited by water-spirits, who require to be propitiated by sacrifices, sometimes of human victims, meet us in many parts of the world. Thus at Sangamner, in the Bombay

¹ Alois John, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen* (Prag, 1905), p. 242.

² A. Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1861-1862), i. 133.

³ A. B(astian), "Vorstellungen von Wasser und Feuer," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, i. (1869) p. 314; A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen* (Vienna, 1878), p. 287.

⁴ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴, p. 409.

⁵ Ella Mary Leather, *The Folk-lore of Herefordshire* (Hereford and London, 1912), p. 10.

⁶ Eleanor Hull, *Folklore of the British Isles* (London, 1928), p. 55.

⁷ W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* (London, 1879), p. 265.

Presidency of India, the water-spirits are believed to claim a yearly victim, and at Wadhwan there is an old well haunted by a water-spirit who drowns one human being every third year.¹ Again, on the Wanamu river in British Guiana there is a cataract called Zibi, the spirit of which is traditionally said to demand a human victim as toll from every party that passes ; hence Indians who sail the river in their canoes greatly dread the passage of that cataract.² In Homer we read how the Pyliaus sacrificed a bull to the river Alpheus, when they came to his sacred stream,³ and how the Trojans used to sacrifice many bulls to the river Scamander and to drown horses in its eddies.⁴ When the Spartan king Cleomenes, intending to invade Argolis, came with his army to the river Erasinus, which formed the boundary of the enemy's country, he offered sacrifices, but the omens were unfavourable. So the king refused to cross it, remarking that he admired the patriotism of the river in not betraying his countrymen.⁵ Here the personality attributed to the river is clearly marked. Again, when the great host of Xerxes arrived at the Strymon in Thrace, the Magians sacrificed white horses to the river.⁶

In the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast the natives believe that the rivers are animated by most powerful spirits, who can slay men but can also bring them much good fortune. Hence they pay great respect to these formidable beings, and offer them many sacrifices of fowls and goats. On crossing one of the larger rivers many people throw cowries or flour into it, and tell the river the business they are about, hoping that the water-god will aid or at least not thwart their undertaking.⁷ In Ashanti many lives are lost in the river Prah ; hence the god of the river is thought to be very malignant and his favour is consequently sued with sacrifices of

¹ R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 108, 109.

² (Sir) Robert W. Schomburgk, "Journal of an Expedition from Pirara to the Upper Corentyne," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xv. (1845) p. 67.

³ Homer, *Il.* xi. 726-728.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* xxi. 131 *sq.*

⁵ Herodotus, vi. 76.

⁶ Herodotus, vii. 113.

⁷ A. W. Cardinall, *The Natives of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast* (London, N.D.), pp. 34, 35.

proportionate value. In former times the usual sacrifice consisted of a man and a woman, either prisoners of war or slaves purchased from a distance. They were beheaded on the banks of the river, and the stool and image of the god were washed with their blood. Their bodies were then cut up and thrown among the mangroves or the sedge for the sacred crocodiles to devour. Sacrifices were thus offered to the river at every town or considerable village on the banks of the Prah about the middle of October. When British rule was established, bullocks were substituted for human beings as victims offered to the dreaded spirit of the river.¹ Another river greatly revered by the Ashantis is the Tano; they sacrifice fowls to it and throw them into the river. The fish in the river are sacred, being deemed the children of the river-god; formerly it was a capital offence to kill or eat them. In old days an Ashanti army, going to war, would halt at a certain ford, and the captains would ask for the blessing of the river, and offer sheep, fowls, and gold dust to it. The priest would also call the fish and explain to them the reasons of the campaign.²

The Banyoro or Bakitara of Central Africa believe that the Muzizi river in their country is inhabited by a sacred snake, who causes the sudden spates that from time to time come rushing down the stream. A medicine-man used to be in charge of the river and of the snake, "to which he made offerings when people wished to cross. He affirmed that it was useless to attempt to build a bridge over the river, for the snake would break it down, and the only means of crossing was by large papyrus rafts on which the people, after giving offerings to the medicine-man for the snake, had to be ferried over. The king sent periodical offerings of black cows to this snake, and the medicine-man presented them to it with prayers that it would not kill men. If anyone fell into this river, the only person who dared to rescue him was a medicine-man, *Muhinda*, who lived on the bank at the ford. A drowning man was said to be captured by the river snake, who would be annoyed if anyone but the

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), pp. 64-66.

² R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 200-202.

medicine man attempted to save his life and would avenge itself on the rescuer at some future time when he was crossing the river again. When a man was drowned, it was said that the river snake took him, kept the body for a time to remove the heart and tongue, and then returned it, for it was found floating after two days." ¹ From this account it appears that the Muzizi river, or rather the snake which inhabited it, took toll of all who crossed the stream, and that he entertained a very strong objection to having a bridge thrown over the water, not only, we may suppose, because it would have been less easy for him to levy his toll on the passengers, but much more because he would have been robbed of his natural prey, the people drowned at the ford. It is reasonable to suppose that the sentiments of the African river on this subject were shared by Father Tiber at Rome, and that out of deference to his feelings the puppets of rushes were offered to him by way of compensation for the losses he sustained through the erection of the bridge.

The Lhota Nagas of Assam believe that a spirit like a man, with enormously long hair, dwells in the deep pools of rivers and uses human skulls for his hearthstones. On certain occasions they propitiate him with a sacrifice of two fowls. One of the birds is cut up and the pieces offered to him; the other is tied to a raft and allowed to float down stream. Should it upset, the omen is bad, somebody will be drowned. Hence a man who builds a weir to catch fish in a river must observe certain taboos; for three days beforehand he may not speak to strangers and he must observe strict continence. On the last morning neither he nor any of his helpers may kill anything. Were a man who did not know the rules of the craft to go down into the river and build a fish-weir, the spirit of the river, the Water Master, as the natives call him, would cause that rash intruder to fall ill and die.² The Sema Nagas, another tribe of Assam, appear to conceive of a great river rather as a conscious and personal being than as merely the abode of a spirit. One of the few serious oaths that can be administered to a Sema is that by

¹ J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 42-43.

² J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), pp. 73, 115, 125.

the water of the Tapu or Dayang river : the man who takes the oath drinks a little of the water. And when he crosses a river by a bridge, " a Sema almost always throws down on it, apparently as a present to the stream, which may object to being crossed in this way, a scrap of greenstuff plucked from the bank or a stone picked up from the path. The thought underlying this is not, however, very clear, and it may be that the bridge itself as such is the abode of some dangerous spirit, just as the Semas who went to France with the Labour Corps, when getting into a railway train for the first time, dropped copper coins in considerable numbers on the railway track to propitiate the spirits that belonged to it." ¹ The hazy state of mind of these Semas, dropping greenstuff or stones from the bridge and coppers from the railway carriage, perhaps did not differ essentially from that of the first Romans who dropped puppets from the Sublician bridge into the yellow stream running fast below it.

Again, the ancient Chinese used to worship the god of the Hoang-ho or Yellow River, whom they called by a title which we may translate by the Count of the River. He is described as a tall being with the face of a man and the body of a fish ; sometimes he is said to ride in a chariot drawn by two dragons. The great seat of his worship was at the confluence of the Yellow River and the River Lo, the very heart of ancient China. There the water-god was honoured with splendid dramatic ceremonies, in which human beings were drowned. White horses were also sacrificed ² to him by being plunged in his stream. We read of another Chinese river-god, who, when horses came to water at his stream, used to draw them in and drown them. ³ Tradition runs that formerly it was the custom to provide the Yellow River every year with a bride. The marriage was celebrated at Ye on the river. There a college of witches was entrusted with the duty of annually choosing a beautiful girl to be the bride of the water-god. The chosen maiden was bathed, dressed in new garments, and shut up

¹ J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 253.

² M. Granet, *Danses et Légendes de l'ancienne Chine* (Paris, 1926), ii. 466-482.

³ M. Granet, *op. cit.* i. 379 note ¹.

in a red tent, where she was fed on beef and wine, but in other respects had to observe rigid abstinence. After ten days' seclusion in the tent, she was dressed as a bride and placed on a nuptial couch, which was set floating on the river; and down the stream it drifted till it sank with the maiden into the depths. Thus the mortal bride was committed to the arms of her immortal bridegroom. All the nobles and the people in their thousands witnessed these nuptials of the river-god. In the year 417 B.C. the Emperor Tsin, the founder of a new dynasty, began the practice of thus marrying royal princesses to the god of the river; as an upstart he desired to strengthen his claim to the imperial throne by making the river-god his kinsman by marriage. But not long afterwards the barbarous custom was abolished by the Marquis Wen de Wei (424-387 B.C.), a disciple of Confucius.¹

But the custom of appeasing or guarding against the dangerous water-spirits which lie in wait to drown people is by no means extinct in China at the present day. At all events Archdeacon Gray found it in full force in the neighbourhood of Canton down to the second half of the nineteenth century. He tells us that "in various parts of the empire the Chinese exorcise water-devils, by sacrificing white horses on the banks of rivers, creeks, canals, or ponds. The horse is first felled, and then decapitated by a person set apart for this very singular duty. The head of the horse is placed in a large earthenware jar, and buried either on the banks or in the bed of the rivers at low water mark. Near the place of interment a stone pillar or slab is erected, with the characters 'O-Me-O-To-Fat.' Sometimes the figure of a horse's head is substituted for such a pillar."²

Archdeacon Gray himself twice witnessed the sacrifice of a white horse to river-spirits within a few miles of Canton. The first occasion was in August 1869; during the preceding year several persons had been drowned at or near the village where the sacrifice took place. The second occasion was on the sixth of August 1870, and the place was a village not more than

¹ M. Granet, *op. cit.* ii. 473-478; and for more examples of sacrifices to river-gods see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 414 *sqq.*

² J. H. Gray, *China* (London, 1878), ii. 35.

six miles to the west of Canton. The white horse, its head crowned with garlands, was first led in triumph through the streets of the village. On the banks of the river an exorcist, dressed in a fantastic costume, performed a wild dance and uttered all kinds of violent threats against the devils who were supposed to be hovering over the surface of the water in quest of their prey. Then the horse was thrown to the ground, its throat was cut, and its blood received in a large earthenware jar. The head and legs were severed from the carcase and deposited in a long open boat, in which was also placed the blood mixed with sand. A young man, whose face, hands, and feet were painted black, and who was supposed to represent the whole family of water devils, was next seized, bound hand and foot, and placed in the boat near the head and legs of the sacrificial horse. A procession of boats, headed by that containing the representative of the water devils and the mutilated remains of the horse, was now formed, and, as it slowly moved along the water, handfuls of the blood-bedabbled sand were cast into the river to dispel the evil spirits. The second boat was also open, and in it several men, at frequent intervals, discharged their matchlocks to increase the terror of the demons. The other boats, which were richly carved and gilded, bore priests both of the Taoist and the Buddhist persuasion. When the procession had reached the confines of the district, the young man who represented the water-devils was unbound, whereupon he jumped into the river and swam ashore amid the rattle of musketry. The head of the horse was eventually placed in an earthenware jar and buried at low water in the bed of the river. Archdeacon Gray concludes his account of the sacrifice by saying that "this singular ceremony has, I believe, been observed for several centuries by the Chinese", and he rightly compared the Magian sacrifice of white horses to the river Strymon.¹

These examples may suffice to prove how deeply the conception of a river-god has entered into the minds and determined the practice, not merely of simple savages, but even of a people which has reached so high a degree of civilization as the Chinese. There is therefore no inherent

¹ J. H. Gray, *China*, ii. 35-38.

improbability in the view that the ancient Romans personified the Tiber and sought to propitiate him, if not by human sacrifices, at least by puppets made up in the likeness of men and women.

But thus far we have considered only the river; it remains briefly to consider the bridge in the light of comparative religion or superstition. We have seen that the Sublician bridge at Rome was always deemed sacred, and that it could not be repaired without the performance of certain religious rites. Now to this day, or down at all events to recent times, bridges have been the object of superstitious fear, not only in Africa and India, but even in the more backward parts of Europe. In Germany it used to be believed that bridges were often built by the devil.¹ In Herzegovina the Moslems regard the office of engineer with pious horror and curse a new bridge when they pass it as the devil's own handiwork.² In Albania there is a general tradition that human sacrifices were offered when a bridge was built. When a new bridge was built over the Arcen, twelve sheep were killed and their heads placed under the foundations of the pillars.³ Traditions of human sacrifices at the building of bridges are current also in Greece, and it is even alleged that in Zacynthus the people would still offer these cruel sacrifices if they did not fear the intervention of the law.⁴ At the university town of Halle in Germany, when a new bridge was built in the year of our Lord 1843, the inhabitants were of opinion that a child ought to have been immured in the masonry.⁵ In the great Chinese city of Nanking, in the year 1876, the population was thrown into a panic by the rebuilding of a bridge which had been destroyed by the rebels; for rumour ran that the souls of a hundred or a hundred and fifty little boys must be built into the foundations to secure their stability, and as time went on the number of the tender victims demanded was considerably augmented, with a proportionate increase of the general consternation. To save them from

¹ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, p. 853.

² A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, Second Edition (London, 1877), p. 316.

³ J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* (Jena, 1854), i. 161.

⁴ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 197 sq.

⁵ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, p. 956.

the loss of their souls for this purpose of public utility, almost all the children of the city went about wearing amulets of red cloth, inscribed with cabalistic characters, attached to their garments.¹ On some parts of the Ganges the boatmen believe that the British Government requires one hundred thousand human heads as the foundation for a great bridge, and that Government officers scour the river on head-hunting expeditions to make up the necessary tale.² At Calcutta, when a bridge was being built over the Hooghly in 1880, the natives "got hold of the idea that Mother Ganges, indignant at being bridged, had at last consented to submit to the insult on the condition that each pier of the structure was founded on a layer of children's heads".³ Towards the end of the nineteenth century the piers of a railway bridge under construction in Central India were twice washed away by floods, and a rumour spread abroad among the Bheels of the neighbouring jungle that one of them was to be seized and sacrificed by the engineers who had received such manifest tokens of divine opposition to their undertaking.⁴ In Japan it is said that, a bridge having been repeatedly wrecked by floods of the river, "a human sacrifice was made to appease the vexed spirits of the flood. A man was buried alive in the river-bed below the place of the middle pillar, where the current is most treacherous, and thereafter the bridge remained immovable for three hundred years".⁵

To sum up, we may suppose that from the first the pontiffs at Rome combined the science of bridge-making with the art of appeasing the river-god and inducing him to submit to the indignity of being bridged. This practical reconciliation of science with religion was clearly attributed by the Bheels of Central India to the British engineers engaged in constructing a bridge over one of their wild mountain rivers; and a like combination of sacred and secular functions was exercised in the Middle Ages by the religious brotherhood

¹ "Le Pont des Ames," *Les Missions Catholiques*, viii. (Lyon, 1876) pp. 551 sq.

² *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. (Allahabad, 1884-1885) p. 206, § 1094.

³ *Times* correspondent at Calcutta, August 1, 1880, quoted by (Sir) G. L. Gomme, *Folk-lore Relics of Early Village Life* (London, 1883), p. 29.

⁴ Sir Alfred C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* (London, 1899), i. 25.

⁵ Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* (London, 1903), i. 148 sq.

who took the title of Pontiffs or Bridge-makers and made it their business to construct bridges over rivers as a work of charity helpful to travellers and pleasing to God. The brotherhood originated in the twelfth century and spread to several countries of the Continent. In France they were known as *Hospitaliers Pontifes*, and built the famous bridge over the Rhone at Avignon, which still preserves four arches of their construction. But though their work was performed from religious motives, and was accompanied by religious rites, it need hardly be added that the God whom they sought to please by their labours was not the god of the Rhone or of any other river.¹ On the present hypothesis, these mediaeval Pontiffs, in their double character of engineers and divines, were the counterpart of the old Roman pontiffs, and the bridge at Avignon over the Rhone answered in some sort to the Sublician bridge over the Tiber.

Finally, with the throwing of the puppets into the Tiber we may compare a ceremony observed by the Ono Moena Mōlō, a tribe in the south of Nias, which is a large island lying off the western coast of Sumatra. Every fourteenth year the tribe celebrates a great festival, for which each sub-tribe prepares a colossal image of a tiger with a man standing on it. To these images sacrifices are offered by the hereditary priestly princes, after which the images are thrown from a steep place into the river as a ransom for the souls of human beings.² We may suppose that each of these images represents the particular sub-tribe which has contributed it, and that it is accepted by the gods or spirits as a substitute for the souls of the members of the sub-tribe. If that is so, the images thus far resemble the puppets thrown into the Tiber, each of which appears to have represented the people of a particular parish or other local division of Rome, and was apparently offered to the river-god as a substitute for the lives of the parishioners.

V. 623. **He who believes that after sixty years men were put to death.**—The custom of putting the aged and infirm to

¹ J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 1889), pp. 42 sq.; *Revue Archéologique* (1858), pp. 142 sq.

² Th. C. Rappard, "Het eiland Nias en zijne bewoners," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, lxii. (The Hague, 1909) p. 586.

death has been practised by many barbarous peoples. Among the Massagetæ in antiquity, when a man grew old, his kinsfolk assembled and not only killed but boiled and ate him, and this was deemed the happiest of all deaths.¹ The Wends are said to have practised a precisely similar custom.² Among the Heruli, a Teutonic tribe, the sick and aged were regularly slain at their own request and then burned on a pyre.³ In Fiji old people, at their own request, used to be buried alive by their relations.⁴ The same thing was done regularly in Vate, one of the New Hebrides. It was deemed a disgrace to the family of an old chief if they did not bury him alive.⁵

V. 626. **these words were spoken by soothsaying Jove.**—The Greek oracle to which Ovid refers was said to have been given by Zeus at Dodona. It is quoted in full by Dionysius Halicarnasensis,⁶ and, on the authority of Varro, by Macrobius;⁷ but their versions differ in a single word. According to Dionysius, the oracle commanded the Pelasgians, on their arrival in Italy, to send a tithe to Phoebus, heads to the son of Cronus (Cronides, that is, to Zeus), and a man to his father (Cronus, Saturn); Macrobius substitutes Hades for the son of Cronus, but the reading of Dionysius is confirmed by Lactantius, who quotes the last line of the oracle.⁸ According to one interpretation, the heads which were to be sent to Zeus or Hades were not human heads but either puppets or the heads of garlic and poppies.⁹ If the text of Ovid is sound (see the Critical Note on line 627), he must have followed a different version of the oracle, for the command to sacrifice two victims is not found in any other ancient author. The oracle, as quoted by Dionysius, is said by him to have been seen by a certain Lucius Mallius

¹ Herodotus, i. 216.

² J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*³ (Göttingen, 1881), p. 488.

³ Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, ii. 14. 2-5 (*History of the Wars*, vi. 14, vol. iii. pp. 402, 404 ed. Dewing).

⁴ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), iii. 96; H. Hale, *U.S. Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 65.

⁵ G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 335 sq. For more evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 11 sqq.

⁶ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 19. 3.

⁷ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 28.

⁸ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 21.

⁹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 31 and 35.

engraved in archaic letters on one of the votive tripods in the sacred precinct at Dodona.

V. 627. **the Ancient who bears the sickle.**—The ancients rightly interpreted Saturn as the god of sowing and derived his name from *satus*, "sowing". Accordingly in art and literature he was appropriately represented with a sickle or reaping-hook as his symbol.¹ As Saturn was confused with the Greek Cronus, and Cronus in his turn was confounded with *chronos* (χρόνος), "time", some of the ancients interpreted the sickle of Saturn as the scythe of Time, wherewith he mows down all things.² The persistent tradition which associated Saturn with human sacrifices points to an ancient custom of offering such sacrifices for the sake of the crops.³

V. 630. **the gloomy rite was performed in the Leucadian manner.**—In the island of Leucas there is a white bluff jutting out to sea. In antiquity it was crowned by a temple of Apollo, and at the annual sacrifice in honour of the god it was the custom of the Leucadians to cast a criminal from the brow of the cliff into the sea, apparently as a scapegoat. But to lighten his fall, they fastened live birds and feathers to him, and a number of boats waited below to catch him and convey him beyond the boundary. Lovers who leaped from the cliff were believed to rid themselves of their love. We are told that some who took the leap escaped with their life and found ease of mind, but others perished. Aphrodite herself is said to have leaped for love of Adonis, and Sappho for love of Phaon.⁴ According to the

¹ Festus, s.vv. "Opima spolia" and "Saturno", pp. 202, 432 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 24, i. 10. 20; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, vi. 25; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 19; Isidore, *Origines*, viii. 11. 32; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 42. For the epithet "sickle-bearing" (*falcifer*) compare *Fasti*, i. 234; and for the same description of Saturn as "the sickle-bearing Ancient" (*senex falcifer*) see *Ibis*, 216; Martial, xi. 6. 1.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 8. 9.

³ For the tradition see Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 38. 2; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 19; Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 21; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, ii. 68; and for examples of human sacrifices for the crops see *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. i. pp. 236 sqq.

⁴ Strabo, x. 1. 9, p. 452; Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. Λευκάρις; Ptolemaeus Hephaest., *Nov. Histor.*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 190, p. 153, ed. Bekker; *id.*, in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 198 sq.; Ovid, *Heroides*, xv. 161-192, *Tristia*, v. 2. 76; L. Ampelius, *Liber Memorialis*, viii. 4; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 279.

manuscript reading in Photius, the priests cast themselves into the sea from the cliff, and this may well have been true ; but the editors, apparently thinking it impossible that these holy men should have risked their valuable lives in this reckless fashion, have altered the reading. The custom of employing human scapegoats would appear to have been common in ancient Greece.¹

At Tarracina in Latium a custom which bore some resemblance to " the gloomy Leucadian rite " seems to have been observed as late as the beginning of the second century of our era. This we gather from the accounts of the martyrdom of two Christian saints, SS. Caesarius and Julianus, who are believed to have suffered in the reign of Trajan. From these accounts it appears that at Tarracina every year a man was induced by the bribe of money, a suit of armour, and a finely caparisoned horse, to sacrifice his life for the good of the commonwealth and the Emperor. For six or eight months he led a life of luxury and licence ; then on the first of January, after sacrificing a sow for the benefit of the city and its inhabitants in the temple of Apollo, he rode to the top of a mountain overhanging the sea, from which he leaped into the waves. His dead body was reverently recovered from the water and carried to the temple of Apollo, where it was burned and sacrifices were offered ; his ashes were preserved in the temple as a palladium of the city. By this voluntary death the victim was thought at once to win great glory for himself and to contribute to the salvation of the commonwealth and the health alike of the princes and of the citizens. St. Caesarius witnessed the self-sacrifice of a handsome young man named Lucian, who, wrought up to a pitch of fanatical frenzy, thus flung himself into the sea and perished. Having protested vehemently against this rite as diabolical, Caesarius was clapped into gaol and finally tied up in a sack and thrown into the sea, along with a priest named Julian, who had sided with him.²

¹ *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 252 sqq.

² *Acta Sanctorum, November*, Tomus i. (Parisii, 1887), pp. 105 sqq. ; J. Toutain, " L'Idée religieuse de la Rédemption et l'un de ses principaux Rites dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine," *École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire 1916-1917* (Paris, 1916), pp. 10 sqq.

According to the account of their martyrdom, the custom which they denounced was observed at the instigation of a certain Firminus, the pontiff of the city (*pontifex civitatis*), but there is nothing to indicate that it was older than his time; had it been so, it would probably have been noticed by the classical writers, who are silent on the subject. The rite may have been instituted on the Leucadian model by a religious fanatic or an ambitious provincial magnate, who desired to attract the notice and win the favour of the Emperor by this annual sacrifice of a human life for the weal of the State and of the Imperial house.

V. 634. **the young men used to hurl the infirm old men from the bridge.**—This tradition has been already discussed.¹

V. 637. **The Tiber raised his reed-crowned head.**—So in Virgil's account of Aeneas's dream we read that the dreamer beheld the river-god Tiber rising from the stream, draped in a grey-blue mantle, his hair crowned with reeds.²

V. 643. **Arcadian Evander.**—Ovid has already told the story of the coming of Evander from Arcadia to Rome.³

V. 646. **my name was Albula.**—The tradition that the old name of the Tiber was Albula has already been noticed by our author.⁴

V. 663. **Come, thou famed grandson of Atlas, thou whom . . . one of the Pleiads bore to Jupiter.**—The grandson of Atlas is Mercury (Hermes), whose genealogy has already been set forth by Ovid.⁵ In the following address to Mercury the poet may have had in mind a well-known ode of Horace⁶ to the same versatile deity.⁶

The Ides (15th) of May is marked as a festival of Mercury in several ancient calendars: in the calendar of Philocalus it is called the birthday (*natalis*) of Mercury: in the calendar of Caeres it is marked as a festival of Maia (the mother of Mercury) in the Circus Maximus: in the Venusian calendar the entry "Festival (*feriae*) of Jupiter, Mercury, and Maia" is attached by mistake to May 16.⁷ Martial speaks of the Ides of May as the birthday of Mercury,⁸ and expresses a

¹ See above, pp. 81 sq., 109 sq.

² Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 31 sqq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 469 sqq., iv. 65.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 389 sq., iv. 68. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 47.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 81 sqq.

⁶ Horace, *Odes*, i. 10.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 318.

⁸ Martial, xii. 67. 1.

graceful hope that on that auspicious day the burden of the world may rest more lightly on the shoulders of Mercury's grandfather Atlas.¹ For the Romans identified their god Mercury with the Greek Hermes, who was said to be a son of Maia and grandson of Atlas. The reason for worshipping Mercury in May was probably the erroneous identification of Maia, the mother of Hermes, with the old Roman goddess Maia.²

V. 669. the Senate founded for thee on the Ides a temple.—Livy tells us that the temple of Mercury was dedicated on the Ides of May in 495 B.C. A dispute arose between the consuls as to which of them should have the honour of dedicating the temple. The Senate referred the question to the people, with the proviso that whichever of the consuls might be appointed by the people should be responsible for the corn supply, and further that he should institute a guild (*collegium*) of merchants and should perform the solemn rite of dedication in the presence of the Pontifex. The people, who were then in a very turbulent and unruly frame of mind, entrusted the dedication to neither of the consuls but to a common centurion, not so much to do honour to him as to cast a slur on the consuls.³ Hence the guild of merchants, as Ovid says, held a festival on the Ides (15th) of May to celebrate the dedication of the temple of their patron god.⁴ Later writers say that merchants sacrificed and prayed both to Mercury and Maia in the month of May.⁵ This joint worship of Maia and Mercury in May is confirmed, as we saw,⁶ by the calendars, and it is attested by inscriptions,⁷ but it is not noticed by Ovid. The Roman Mercury was essentially the god of merchants: his very name is derived from *merx*, *merces*, "merchandise".⁸ The temple of Mercury is thought to have stood on the

¹ Martial, vii. 12. 5 sq.

² As to the Roman Maia see above pp. 1 sq. Compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 304 sq.

³ Livy, ii. 27. 5-7.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Malis idibus", p. 135 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 19; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 80, p. 132 ed. Wuensch; compare Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 12.

⁶ Above, p. 113.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3207, 3208, 3209.

⁸ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 304-306.

western side of the Circus Maximus, near its southern end, towards the slope of the Aventine.¹

V. 673. **a water of Mercury near the Capene Gate.**—This spring appears to be otherwise unknown. According to Ovid, it was animated by a divinity, and its water possessed the valuable property of washing away perjury and enabling the perjurer to begin again with a clean slate. No doubt the water was much in demand among merchants. The water of the river Selemnus in Achaia was said to be a cure for love both in man and woman; sad lovers washed in it and forgot their love.² Very different from the water of Mercury in its effect on perjury was the effect of the two pools of water called the Palici in Sicily. Solemn oaths were taken beside them, and any man who swore falsely was said either to be bereft of his sight on the spot or to lose his life in the water.³ According to another account, the person who took an oath in presence of one of these pools, wrote it on a tablet and threw the tablet into the water; if he swore truly, the tablet floated, but if he had sworn falsely, the tablet sank.⁴

V. 692. **he himself stole the Ortygian kine.**—One of the earliest exploits of Hermes (Mercury) was to steal a herd of cattle and to conceal the beasts in a cave.⁵ The theft was the subject of the *Ichneutae* or *The Trackers*, a satyric drama of Sophocles, of which only fragments remain.⁶ According to the author of the Homeric hymn, it was the cattle of the gods which Hermes stole; according⁷ to our other authorities it was the kine which Apollo was herding for Admetus. This latter is the version followed by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* and in the present passage, where by the adjective Ortygian he means no more than that the cattle belonged to Apollo, or rather were under his

¹ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 118 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 410.

² Pausanias, vii. 23. 3.

³ Diodorus Siculus, xi. 89; Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 18-30.

⁴ Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 57, in *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*, ed. Westermann, pp. 16 sq.

⁵ *Homeric Hymns*, IV. *To Hermes*, 69 sqq.; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 2; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 23; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 680 sqq.

⁶ *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 224-270.

pastoral care. Ortygia was the old name of Delos, the sacred isle of Apollo,¹ but nobody laid the scene of the lifting of the cattle in that island. The name Ortygia, meaning Quail-Island, was explained by a story that Asteria, flying from the embraces of Jupiter (Zeus), turned herself or was turned by him into a quail, and leaping into the sea was further changed into the island which was afterwards called Delos.²

V. 697. "Tell me", I replied, "the cause of this constellation."—The constellation of the Twins, between the Crab (Cancer) and the Charioteer (Auriga), was commonly explained by the ancients to be the twin brothers Castor and Pollux, transported to the sky. The following story of the combat of Castor and Pollux with Idas and Lynceus, and the death of Castor, is told in substantially the same way by Pindar,³ Apollodorus,⁴ and Tzetzes.⁵ The twins were born of the same mother, Leda, but by different fathers; Pollux was begotten by Zeus, the divine paramour of Leda, but Castor was begotten by Leda's human husband Tyndareus;⁶ hence Pollux was born immortal but Castor was born mortal.⁷ The tale of the promotion of the brothers to the sky is told with variations by Hyginus.⁸ The curious story that after the death of Castor the twin brothers were dead and alive on alternate days,⁹ or that they spent half their time beneath the earth and half in heaven (Pindar), or that they passed every second day alternately among the gods and among mortals (Apollodorus), or that each of them shone on alternate days,¹⁰ has been explained in modern times as a myth of the Morning and Evening Star, the immortal Pollux being identified with the Morning Star, while the mortal Castor is identified with the Evening Star, which seems at dusk to sink to its earthy bed.¹¹ This

¹ Callimachus, *Hymns*, II. *To Apollo*, 58 sq.; Strabo, x. 5. 5, p. 486.

² Hyginus, *Fab.* 53; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 401.

³ Pindar, *Nem.* x. 55 sqq.

⁴ Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2.

⁵ Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 511.

⁶ Pindar, *Nem.* x. 30-32; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 77; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 601.

⁷ *Cypria*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 30, p. 26 ed. Potter.

⁸ Hyginus, *Fab.* 80, *Astronom.* ii. 22.

⁹ Homer, *Od.* xi. 301-304.

¹⁰ Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 22.

¹¹ J. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 606 sqq.; J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), pp. 11 sqq.

interpretation would seem to have been adopted by Servius, for he says that the stars of the two brothers are so related that when the one sets the other rises.¹ But some of the ancients interpreted the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) as the two hemispheres of the sky, the one in light above the earth, the other in darkness beneath the earth, and each occupying the place of the other with the apparent revolution of the celestial vault;² and this interpretation, which seems to fit the myth much better, is accepted by A. B. Cook.³

Curiously enough, the popular myth of the immortality of Pollux is contradicted by Homer. He represents Helen seated beside Priam on the wall of Troy and looking down on the Greek host spread out in battle array on the plain below. The king asks her who are those captains, so gallant and gay, whom he marks conspicuous above their fellows, and she tells him their names. But at the end she says that there are two whom she does not see, even her own brothers, Castor and Pollux, and she wonders whether they have stayed behind in Greece or are too ashamed of her to join in the battle. Then, with a sudden turn, the poet says that the two were already dead and buried in Lacedaemon, their dear native land.⁴

Corresponding in some respects to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) are the Asvins, the divine twins of Vedic mythology. They are described as children of Heaven, but in a single passage of the Rig-veda one of them alone is said to be a son of Heaven, and an ancient commentator quotes a passage in which one of them is called the son of Night and the other the son of Dawn. They are young, they are bright, lords of lustre, of golden brilliancy. Their name implies the possession of horses: they ride a golden car: their car touches the ends of heaven. They are awakened by the Dawn: they follow her in their car, when "darkness still stands among the ruddy cows". They bring lovers together: they rescue from the ocean in a ship or ships. The Asvins, like the Dioscuri, have been very variously interpreted by

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 121.

² Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, ix. 37, p. 399 ed. Bekker; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 302, p. 1686. 28 sqq.; *id.*, on Homer, *Il.* iii. 236, p. 410. 19 sqq.; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 17, p. 78 ed. Wuensch.

³ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 432 sqq.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* iii. 161-244.

Indian and European scholars. Some have thought that they stood for Heaven and Earth, others for Day and Night, others for the Sun and Moon, others for the Morning Twilight, and others for the Morning Star. One scholar (Weber) held that the Asvins represented two stars, to wit, the twin constellation of the Gemini. Professor Macdonell is of opinion that of the various theories propounded those which see in the Asvins the morning twilight or the Morning Star are the most probable.¹

The divine Greek twins, Castor and Pollux, were supposed to accompany the two Spartan kings when they went forth to war, and after the rule was instituted that the two kings should not leave Sparta at the same time, it was believed that one of the heavenly twins remained in Sparta with the king who stayed at home.² Hence A. B. Cook has conjectured, with much probability, that in the early Doric days the two kings of Sparta were conceived as incarnations of Castor and Pollux.³ The divine twins are said to have been seen hovering over the Spartan fleet at the great victory of Aegospotami, and in memory of their visible assistance the Spartans dedicated two golden stars, "the stars of Castor and Pollux", at Delphi, where they remained till a short time before the great Spartan defeat at Leuctra, when they suddenly disappeared and were never found again.⁴ This use of stars to represent the heavenly twins favours the interpretation of the brothers as personifications of the Morning and the Evening Star.

While most astronomers and mythologists held that the stars in the constellation of the Twins (Gemini) were Castor and Pollux, some thought that they were Hercules and Apollo, and others again were of opinion that they were Triptolemus and Iasion, the two heroes whom Ceres (Demeter) loved and set among the stars.⁵

V. 699. The brother Tyndarids, the one a horseman, the

¹ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 50, 207 sqq.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 49-54; H. D. Griswold, *The Religion of the Rigveda* (Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 259-264.

² Herodotus, v. 75.

³ A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 436.

⁴ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 34. 75, ii. 32. 68; Plutarch, *Lysander*, 18.

⁵ Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 22.

other a boxer, had ravished and carried away Phoebe and Phoebe's sister. — Castor and Pollux were called Tyndarids¹ after their reputed father Tyndareus, though Pollux was thought to be the son of Zeus.² Of the twins, Pollux was the boxer and Castor the horseman.³ A little below (line 705) Ovid calls Castor and Pollux by the name of Oebalids after Oebalus, the father of Tyndareus.⁴ The names of the two daughters of Leucippus, whom Castor and Pollux are said to have carried off and married, were Phoebe and Hilaira; Pollux wedded Phoebe, and Castor wedded Hilaira.⁵ The two sisters were named Leucippides after their father; under that title they were worshipped and had a sanctuary at Sparta, where they were served by young maidens, who also bore the title of Leucippides.⁶ The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Pollux is told by Theocritus.⁷

V. 708. *its name is Aphidna*.—Aphidna or Aphidnae was a town in Attica, where Helen is said to have been placed for security by her captor and husband Theseus, while he descended into the lower world to help his friend Pirithous to carry off Persephone, the wife of Pluto. During the absence of Theseus, the town was attacked and captured by Helen's two brothers, Castor and Pollux, who thus rescued their sister and carried her back to Sparta.⁸ The place is called Aphidnae by Herodotus, Plutarch, Apollodorus, and Hyginus. As the people of Decelea were said to have guided Castor and Pollux to the town,⁹ it has been inferred that Aphidna (or Aphidnae) was near Decelea. The place has been identified with an isolated hill called *Kotroni*, about six miles to the

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 301, *Tristia*, i. 10. 45; Propertius, i. 17. 18; Horace, *Odes*, iv. 8. 31, *Sat.* i. 1. 100; Herodotus, v. 75, ix. 73; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32. 3, *De defectu oraculorum*, 30.

² Apollodorus, iii. 10. 6; and above, p. 116.

³ Homer, *Il.* iii. 237, *Od.* xi. 300; Theocritus, xxii. 1 *sqq.*, 135 *sq.*; Pausanias, v. 8. 4; Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2; Horace, *Odes*, i. 12. 25-27, *Sat.* ii. 1. 26 *sq.*; Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 2. 54.

⁴ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4; Pausanias, iii. 1. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 78.

⁵ Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2; Pausanias, ii. 22. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80.

⁶ Pausanias, iii. 16. 1; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 48.

⁷ Theocritus, xxii. 135 *sqq.*

⁸ Isocrates, *Helene*, 19; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63; Herodotus, ix. 73; Strabo, ix. 1. 17, p. 396; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31 *sq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 10. 7; Pausanias, i. 17. 4 *sq.*, ii. 22. 6, ii. 32. 7, iii. 18. 4 *sq.*, 15, iii. 24. 11, v. 19. 3, ix. 31. 5, x. 29. 9; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 503; Hyginus, *Fab.* 79.

⁹ Herodotus, ix. 73.

east of Decelea and thirteen miles from Oropus. A tumulus about a mile and a half to the east of *Kotroni* was excavated by Swedish archaeologists in 1894. It was found to contain eleven prehistoric graves of the bronze period. Among the pottery were discovered vessels decorated with geometrical patterns and resembling certain primitive wares found in the Greek islands.¹ On the other hand Plutarch says that the situation of Aphidna was disclosed to Castor and Pollux by Academus, from whom the Academy took its name, and that out of gratitude for the service the twin brothers paid honour to Academus in his lifetime, and that afterwards the Lacedaemonians always spared the Academy in their invasions of Attica.² From this statement we might naturally infer that Aphidna was near the Academy and therefore in the immediate vicinity of Athens. But Herodotus makes a similar statement about Decelea, which he says the Spartans always spared in their invasions of Attica, out of gratitude for the service rendered to Castor and Pollux by the Deceleans.³ In any case Ovid is clearly mistaken in giving the name Aphidna to the scene of the combat between Castor and Pollux on the one side and Lynceus and Idas on the other; for Aphidna was in Attica, but the combat between the two pairs of brothers seems to have taken place in Messenia or perhaps in Laconia,⁴ but certainly not in Attica. The graves of Castor, Lynceus, and Idas were all shown at Sparta.⁵

V. 713. *Idas . . . was repulsed by the fire of Jupiter.* — According to Pindar, Lynceus and Idas tore up the tombstone of their father Aphareus and hurled it at Pollux, but Zeus flung a thunderbolt at Idas, which burned up both him and his brother Lynceus.⁶ The account of Theocritus is similar and is clearly based on that of Pindar; he says that by the fiery bolt Zeus dashed the tombstone from the hand of Idas,⁷ thus differing from Ovid, who seems to imply that even in death the doughty mortal

¹ See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 162 *sq.*, vol. iii. p. 144, vol. v. pp. 560 *sq.*

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32.

³ Herodotus, ix. 73.

⁴ Pausanias, iii. 13. 1, iv. 3. 1; Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2.

⁵ Pausanias, iii. 13. 1.

⁶ Pindar, *Nem.* x. 66-72.

⁷ Theocritus, xxii. 205-214.

clutched his clumsy weapon. Apollodorus differs from them both in relating that Pollux, in pursuing Idas, was wounded in the head by a stone thrown at him by his adversary and fell down in a swoon, whereupon Zeus killed Idas with a thunderbolt and carried Pollux up to heaven.¹

V. 719. **redeemed his brother from death.**—Ovid probably had in mind the lines of Virgil: ² “If Pollux redeemed his brother by alternate deaths and comes and goes his way so often.”

V. 720. **Both stars are helpful to the storm-tossed bark.**—The belief that the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) were the saviours of ships is mentioned by Sextus Empiricus.³ The ancients gave the name of Castor and Pollux to certain double lights, electrical in origin, which were seen to rest on the yard-arms, sails, or other parts of a ship in a storm; their appearance was hailed as a good omen, for thereafter, it is said, the gale ceased to blow and the sea to rage. Hence tempest-tossed mariners prayed to Castor and Pollux; and the twins were said to be the saviours of ships and of seafaring men. But the sight of a single such light was deemed an evil omen which forboded the foundering of the ship. To these ominous solitary lights the sailors gave the name of Helen.⁴ The origin of the lights is said to have been this. When the Argo was at sea, she was overtaken by a great storm and the crew gave themselves up for lost. But Orpheus, who was on board, had been initiated into the Samothracian mysteries; so now in the hour of distress he prayed to the Samothracian gods, and lo! the wind suddenly fell, and two stars descended on the heads of Castor and Pollux, who were among the navigators. So ever afterwards the appearance of the star-like lights in a storm was associated with the twin brothers.⁵ Such lights are still seen in storms; in the middle ages and modern times they have been known as the

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 11. 2.

² Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 121 sq., “*Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit | itque reditque viam lotiens*”.

³ Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, ix. 86, pp. 410 sq. ed. Bekker.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 101; Horace, *Odes*, i. 12. 25-32, iv. 8. 31. sq.; Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* i. 1. 13; Propertius, i. 17. 18; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 43. 2; Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 30; Pausanias, ii. 1. 9; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xxvi. 2.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, iv. 43. 1 sq.

fire of Saint Elmo or of Saint Telmo. My friend W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning "twins". Modern Greek sailors call these lights Telonia and regard them as an evil omen, which they attempt to avert by reciting incantations and making noises.¹

V. 721. **He who would learn what the Agonia are, may turn back to January.**—Ovid thus refers his readers to the discussion of the Agonia in the first book of his poem.² The festival is marked AGON(ALIA) under May 21 in the Esquiline, Caeretan, Venusian, and Maffeian calendars.³

V. 723. **the dog of Erigone rises.**—This constellation has already been mentioned by the poet.⁴ By "the dog of Erigone" the poet means Sirius (the Dog Star), but in dating the rising of that star on May 22 our author is wide of the mark. For at Rome in his time the true morning rising of Sirius did not take place till July 19, and the apparent rising not till August 2. Columella is much nearer the truth in dating the rising of the Dog Star on July 26, midway between the true and the apparent morning rising.⁵ Pliny, probably following Caesar's calendar, placed the rising of the Dog Star twenty-three days after the summer solstice, at the time when the sun entered the constellation of the Lion,⁶ and the statement holds good of the true morning rising of Sirius.⁷

V. 725. **The next day belongs to Vulcan; they call it Tubilustria.**—Ovid has already noticed the Tubilustria in March.⁸ The festival is marked as TVBIL(VSTRIVM) in the Esquiline, Caeretan, Venusian, and Maffeian calendars. The day is also marked as a festival (*feriae*) of Vulcan in the Venusian and Amiternine calendars, though in the latter the entry is a mere fragment.⁹

¹ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 173 sq. See further Th. Henri Martin, in *Revue Archéologique*, N.S., xiii. (1866) pp. 168-174; P. Sébillot, *Légendes, Croyances et Superstitions de la Mer* (Paris, 1886), ii. 87-109.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 317 sqq., with the note. ³ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 318.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 939, with the note.

⁵ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 53.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 269.

⁷ Ideler, 'Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid,' *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 164. Compare note on *Fasti*, iv. 904.

⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 849 sq., with the note. ⁹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 243, 318.

V. 727. **The next place is marked by four letters.**—The four letters are Q.R.C.F. They are marked on this day (May 24) in the Esquiline, Caeretan, and Venusian calendars. In the Maffeian calendar the entry is Q.REX.C.F.¹ The same entries occur in the ancient calendars on March 24. That day is marked Q.R.C.F. in the Caeretan and Vatican calendars; in the Maffeian calendar the entry is Q.REX.C.F.² Ovid is in doubt as to the meaning of the letters, and he suggests two different interpretations, of which the latter (the Flight of the King) is certainly wrong, since the Flight of the King, as we have seen, took place on February 24.³ The poet might have learned the truth from Varro and from Verrius Flaccus, who, in a note on the Praenestine calendar, corrects the very error into which Ovid has here fallen.⁴ The four letters stand for QVANDO REX COMITIAVIT FAS, and Varro's explanation of the phrase runs thus: "The day which is called, 'When the king has attended the public assembly' (*comitiavit*), is so named because on that day the Sacrificial King goes to the place of public assembly (*comitium*), up to which time the day is unlawful, but after it the day is lawful; accordingly after that time legal business is often transacted."⁵ In short, on this day legal business might be transacted after, but not before, the Sacrificial King had gone to the place of public assembly (*comitium*). This explanation is confirmed by Festus and his epitomizer Paulus Diaconus. The latter, explaining the phrase *Quandoc rex comitiavit fas*, says: "This is a customary mark in the calendar and seems to mean 'When the Sacrificial King, after performing divine service, comes to the place of public assembly (*comitium*)'."⁶ The note of Festus on the subject⁷ is very fragmentary, but so far as it goes it seems to show that his epitomizer, Paulus Diaconus, has given the substance of it correctly. In another very mutilated note on the word *Regifugium* ("Flight of the

¹ C.I.L. i.² pp. 211, 213, 221, 224.

² C.I.L. i.² pp. 212, 223, 242.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 685 with the note.

⁴ C.I.L., i.² pp. 234, 289.

⁵ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 31, "*Dies qui vocatur sic 'quando rex comitiavit fas'*, is (*sic Mommsen*) *dictus ab eo quod eo die rex sacrificiolus itat* (Ursinus, *dicat MSS.*, *lital Hirschfeld*) *ad comitium, ad quod tempus est nefas, ab eo fas: itaque post id tempus lege actum saepe*". I follow C. O. Müller's reading of the passage.

⁶ Festus, p. 311 ed. Lindsay.

⁷ Festus, p. 310 ed. Lindsay.

King"),¹ Festus appears to have repeated his explanation of the four letters Q.R.C.F. and to have corrected a current, but erroneous, belief that the letters signified "*Quod rex comitio fugerat*", "that the king fled from the place of public assembly", with reference to the flight of Tarquin from the city. As restored conjecturally, but probably, by Mommsen,² the passage of Festus runs thus: "The flight of the king is marked in the calendars on February 24, which is believed to be so called because on that day King Tarquin fled from the city. But that is false, for the annals relate that he departed into exile from the camp. A more correct explanation will be given by him who knows that the king and the Salii on this day offer a sacrifice in the place of public assembly (*comitium*), and that when it has been offered the king flies thence. Moreover, because the marks Q.R.C.F. are found elsewhere in the calendars, these are to be read thus: *Quando rex comitiavit fas*, not *Quod rex comitio fugerat*: for on these days after the public assembly (*comitia*) legal business is transacted in the city, and, as I have said, it was not from there that he (Tarquin) departed into exile in Etruria. The letters are read in the calendars on two days, March 24 and May 24, and should be understood to mean that after the holding of the public assembly (*comitia*) the day is lawful (*fastus*), whereas before the holding of the assembly the day was unlawful (*nefastus*)."³ The same correction of the popular error concerning the Flight of the King (*Regifugium*) is given by Verrius Flaccus in a note on the Praenestine calendar under March 24.³

It is to be observed that in the calendars May 24 was marked by the letters Q.R.C.F. and preceded by a day on which there was a festival of trumpets (*tubilustrium*). Similarly, March 24 was marked by the letters Q.R.C.F. and preceded by a day on which there was a festival of trumpets (*tubilustrium*).⁴ The double sequence in March and May has been ingeniously explained by Mommsen. He points out that a public assembly (*comitia*) was held twice a year for the probate of wills,⁵

¹ Festus, p. 346 ed. Lindsay.

² In *C.I.L.* i.³ p. 289.

³ *C.I.L.* i.³ pp. 234, 289.

⁴ *C.I.L.* i.³ pp. 212 (Caeretan calendar), 223 (Maffeian calendar), 234 (Praenestine calendar), 242 (Vatican calendar), 251 (fragment of a calendar).

⁵ Gaius, *Instit.* ii. 101.

and he supposes that these were the two assemblies which the Sacrificial King was bound to attend on March 24 and May 24, and further that the lustration of trumpets on the two immediately preceding days (March 23 and May 23) was held for the purpose of purifying the trumpets which were to be used in summoning (*calare*) the solemn assemblies on March 24 and May 24.¹

V. 729. **thou Public Fortune of the powerful people.**—In the Caceretan calendar this day (May 25) is marked as a festival of “the Public Fortune of the Roman People, the Quirites, on the Quirinal Hill”;² in the Esquiline calendar it is marked as a festival of “the Public Fortune of the Roman People on the hill”;³ in the Venusian calendar the day is marked as a festival of Firstborn Fortuna (*Fortunae primigeniae*).⁴ Thus the full title of the goddess would seem to have been the Firstborn Fortune of the Roman People. We have seen⁵ that there were three temples of Fortune at Rome near each other. One of them was the temple here mentioned by Ovid. Another was dedicated on April 5.⁶ The third was dedicated to “First-born Fortune on the hill” on November 13.⁷

V. 731. **When that day shall have sunk into Amphitrite's wealth of waters.**—This is a poetical way of saying, “when the sun has set in the sea”, or, in short, “when another day is over”. The exuberance of his fancy and of his learning supplies Ovid with an inexhaustible variety of expressions for sunrise and sunset, for the passage and alternation of day and night. He is at great pains to shun the tediousness of monotony. The range of his musical notes is not very wide, but he rings the changes on them endlessly. To use the name of the sea-goddess Amphitrite for the sea itself is a commonplace of Roman poets.⁸

V. 733. **the beak of the tawny bird, dear to Jupiter.**—In dating the evening rising of the constellation of the

¹ Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1858), pp. 228 sq.; compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 63.

² *C.I.L.* i.² p. 213.

³ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 211.

⁴ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 319.

⁵ Vol. III. pp. 256 sq.

⁶ *Fasti*, iv. 375 sq., with the note.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 215, 315, 335.

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 14; Catullus, lxiv. 11; Claudian, *De bello Gothico*, 337, “*Thracia quingue vadis Histrum vorat Amphitrite*”.

Eagle (Aquila) on May 25, our author appears to be unusually accurate; for we are informed that his date is only one day too late.¹

V. 734. **the constellation of Hyas will be visible.**—Here Ovid seems to have in mind the morning rising of the Hyades, to which he again refers under the date of June 2.² Here Ovid calls the Hyades “the constellation of Hyas”; he has already told the story of Hyas and his sisters.³

¹ Ideler, “Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid,” *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 147. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 196, with the note.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 197 sq. Compare *Fasti*, v. 163 sq., 603 sq., with the notes; Ideler, “Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid,” *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 154 sq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 163-182.

BOOK VI

THE MONTH OF JUNE

VI. 1. The explanations of this month's name also are doubtful. — Ovid refers by implication to the doubts concerning the meaning of May, the name of the preceding month.¹ He now propounds three derivations for the name of June (*Junius*), first, from Juno; this etymology is naturally supported by the goddess Juno herself (lines 21-64): second, from *junior*; this etymology is appropriately advocated by Juventas (Hebe), the goddess of Youth (lines 65-88): third, from *junction*, with reference to the junction of the Romans and Sabines in one people: this etymology is suitably maintained by Concordia, the goddess of concord (lines 91-96). Finally, the poet, not venturing to decide between the pleas of three goddesses, and mindful of the fate that overtook Paris, who in a like case dared to favour one goddess and to disoblige two, leaves the question open (lines 97-100). Of these three derivations the only one which has a shadow, or rather a high degree, of probability, is that from Juno. In antiquity this etymology was accepted by some scholars.² But the etymology which derived June from *junior* had the support of Varro,³ Festus,⁴ Ovid himself elsewhere,⁵ Fulvius Nobilior,⁶ Isidore⁷ and Polemius Silvius.⁸ Plutarch seems to have hesitated between the two etymologies. In one passage he says that June is named

¹ *Fasti*, v. 1 *sqq.*

² Festus, *s.v.* "Junium", p. 92 ed. Lindsay; Censorinus, *De die natali*, xxii. 12; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 43; Cincius, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 30.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

⁴ Festus, *s.v.* "Maius", p. 120 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 41, v. 78.

⁶ Quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16.

⁷ Isidore, *Origines*, v. 33. 8 *sq.*

⁸ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 267.

after Hera (Juno), though some people derive the name from *junior*; ¹ in another passage, after saying that some people regarded June as sacred to Juno, he tells us that others derived the name from *junior*.² Ausonius left it an open question whether the month took its name from Juno or from Juventa.³ But if the name Juno is itself derived from *juvenis*, *junior*, as Wissowa believes,⁴ the two etymologies would not be inconsistent. However, it seems much more likely that the name Juno comes from the same root, *dio*, *div*, as Jupiter, and that the two great deities were always a married pair, in spite of the strenuous attempts of modern mythologists to divorce them and even to provide Juno with another partner (we may not call him husband) in the person of Genius.⁵

VI. 5. **There is a god within us.**—The thought that the poet writes under divine inspiration had already been enunciated by Cicero,⁶ and it is repeated by Ovid elsewhere.⁷ Long before Cicero and Ovid the same thought was forcibly expressed by Plato, who declared that the Muses take possession of the poet's mind and drive him mad, and that without this divine madness it is vain for the aspirant to knock at the gate of Poetry; for the poetry of sober sense will always be eclipsed by the poetry of frenzy.⁸

VI. 10. **those whom the teacher of ploughing beheld.**—Hesiod, a native of Ascra in Boeotia, and author of the oldest extant treatise on farming, tells us that the Muses taught him his song as he fed his sheep at the foot of Helicon, their holy mountain.⁹ Elsewhere, with the same lines of Hesiod in his mind, Ovid confesses that he himself

¹ Plutarch, *Numa*, 19. 3.

² Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 86.

³ Ausonius, *Ecl.* x. *De mensibus*, 11 sq.

⁴ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 181.

⁵ W. H. Roscher, *Studien zur vergleichenden Mythologie*, ii. *Juno und Hera* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 4 sqq., 17 sqq.; *id.*, s.v. "Juno", *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 574 sqq.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 181 sqq.; W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 135 sqq., 144; H. J. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 74.

⁶ Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 26. 64.

⁷ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 4. 93 sq., "*Ista dei vox est, deus est in pectore nostro, | haec duce praedico vaticinorque deo*"; *id.* iv. 2. 25 sq., "*Impetus ille sacer, qui vatium pectora nutrit*"; *Ars Amat.* iii. 548-550, "*Numen inest illis [scil. vatibus] Pieridesque favent: | est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli: | sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit*".

⁸ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 22, p. 245 A.

⁹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 22 sq.

had not seen Clio and her sisters as he fed his flocks in Ascrea's vales.¹

VI. 15. *those whom Priam's son compared in watery Ida's dells.*—The poet refers to the famous judgement passed by Paris, son of Priam, on the three goddesses, Hera (Juno), Athena (Minerva), and Aphrodite (Venus), when they competed for the golden apple, the prize of beauty offered by Strife. The judgement is only alluded to by Homer,² but it is a commonplace with later writers. The story seems to have been told at full length by the author of the old epic *Cypria*, who laid the scene of the judgement on Mount Ida.³ Ovid has already alluded to the judgement,⁴ and elsewhere he has told the story more fully.⁵ Euripides has described in glowing language the flowery dell of Ida, with its gushing springs and meadows spangled with roses and bluebells, where Paris, then a solitary herdsman, his royal lineage unknown, was tending the kine when he had his fateful meeting with the goddesses.⁶

VI. 18. *who stands within Jove's citadel.*—The great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, founded but not finished by Tarquin the Proud, contained three shrines in the shape of three parallel chambers (*cellae*), separated from each other by parti-walls. The central chamber was sacred to Jupiter; the side chambers were dedicated to Juno and Minerva. The temple stood on a lofty platform facing south, and its southern front was adorned by a triple row of columns, while a single row of columns ran along each of the flanks. The whole was covered by a single roof and faced with a single pediment.⁷ The shrine of Minerva seems to have been in the chamber on the right-hand side of the temple; for Livy tells us that the ancient law commanding the praetor to knock a nail into the temple on the Ides (13th) of September, was inscribed on the right-hand side of the temple of

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 27 sq.

² Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 25-30.

³ *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel p. 17. Compare Euripides, *Troades*, 924 sqq., *Helene*, 23 sqq.; Isocrates, *Helene*, 41-44; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xx, *Dial. marin.* v; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 2; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 93; Hyginus, *Fab.* 92; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 27.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 121.

⁵ Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi. 53-88; compare *id.*, v. 33-36.

⁶ Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1284-1310, *Andromache*, 274-292.

⁷ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 61.

Jupiter Best and Greatest, which, adds the historian, is the side of the temple of Minerva.¹ It follows, therefore, that Juno occupied the shrine on the left-hand side of the temple. It is apparently to this shrine of Juno in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter that Ovid alludes in the present passage, for later on² he seems to imply that Juno shared the same temple with Jupiter. Otherwise we might suppose that the reference was to the temple of Juno Moneta on the citadel (*arx*) in the technical sense of the term, which denotes the higher summit of the Capitoline Hill now occupied by the church of Ara Coeli.³ In one passage⁴ Ovid uses the term citadel (*arx*) in its strict sense; in the present passage, if his reference is to the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, we must suppose that he employs it in a looser sense to denote the Capitoline Hill as a whole. Recent excavations have exposed to view the massive substructures of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter: of the superstructure nothing is left.⁵ But older even than the great temple of Capitoline Jupiter was a chapel of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva on the same hill; on account of its great antiquity this venerable chapel was known as the Old Capitol (*Capitolium Vetus*).⁶

VI. 22. **to chronicle great things in slender couplets.**—The poet seems to think the elegiac metre hardly dignified enough for the ambitious theme he is treating of in the present work.⁷

VI. 27. **It is something to have married Jupiter and to be Jupiter's sister.**—Elsewhere the poet refers to Jupiter as at once the husband and the brother of Juno.⁸ So in Virgil the goddess speaks of herself as both the sister and the wife of Jupiter.⁹ In Greek mythology Hera was at once the wife and the sister of Zeus; hence the Romans transferred the double relationship to Jupiter and Juno. And as Zeus married

¹ Livy, vii. 3. 5.

² Lines 34, 52, 74 sq.

³ As to the temple of Juno Moneta see above, *Fasti*, i. 636 sq., and below, vi. 183 sqq., with the notes.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 183.

⁵ T. Ashby, "Recent Excavations in Italy," *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 11, 1926, p. 98.

⁶ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 158.

⁷ Compare *Fasti*, ii. 3 sqq.

⁸ Ovid, *Heroides*, iv. 35:

"Si mihi concedat Juno fratremque virumque,
Hippolytum videor praepositura Iovi."

⁹ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 46 sq.

his sister Hera, so his father Cronus had in like manner married his sister Rhea.¹ Similarly in Egyptian mythology Osiris is said to have married his sister Isis.² Now it has been customary in royal families in various parts of the world, including Egypt and Peru, for kings to marry their sisters, either to keep the royal stock pure from admixture with inferior blood, or to give the king's son a title to the throne in cases where the crown descended through females instead of through males, and where consequently the king's son could only succeed his father on the throne by marrying either his father's widow (his own mother or stepmother) or his father's daughter (his own sister). In Egypt it was the regular custom for commoners as well as kings to marry their sisters; hence the mythical marriage of Osiris with his sister Isis probably reflects the real marriage of the king with his sister the queen. It is possible that in ancient Greece the mythical marriages of Cronus and Zeus with their sisters had in like manner an historical basis in the rules of succession observed in certain royal houses, but it is also possible that the resemblance of the myths to historical customs in Egypt and elsewhere is purely accidental and furnishes no ground for supposing a practice of marriage with a sister among the forefathers of the Greeks.³

VI. 29. I was the first to call Saturn by the name of father.—So in Homer Hera (Juno) boasts that she is the eldest child of Cronus (Saturn).⁴ But the author of the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite⁵ and Hesiod⁶ speak of Hestia (the equivalent of the Latin Vesta) as the eldest child of Cronus (Saturn), and in this they are followed by Apollodorus⁷ and Hyginus.⁸ The prominence thus assigned to Hestia is remarkable in view of the very small part which she plays in Greek mythology.

VI. 31. Rome was once named Saturnia.—Ovid has already mentioned Saturnia as the old name of Italy or

¹ Apollodorus, i. 1. 5.

² Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 12.

³ On this subject see my note on Pausanias, i. 7. 1 (vol. ii. pp. 84 sq.); *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *The Dying God*, pp. 193; *id.*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. 316; E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, Fifth Edition (London, 1921), ii. 91 sqq.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* iv. 59.

⁵ *Homeric Hymns*, V. *To Aphrodite*, 22.

⁶ Hesiod, *Theog.* 453 sq.

⁷ Apollodorus, i. 1. 5.

⁸ Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30 ed. Bunte.

Latium.¹ It is said that Saturn had his citadel on the Capitol, and that the hill was hence called Saturnia or the Saturnian Hill.² A permanent monument of the ancient association of Saturn with the Capitol was his temple at the foot of the hill, where the slope begins to ascend from the Forum to the summit of the hill. It was dedicated in the early days of the Republic, on the seventeenth of December 497 B.C.³ Varro refers to the temple as part of the evidence connecting Saturn with the Capitol.⁴ According to him, the temple was contracted for by King Tarquin (probably Tarquin the Proud) and dedicated by the dictator Titus Larcus.⁵ It was rebuilt by Munatius Plancus in 42 B.C.⁶ It is represented on fragments of the Marble Plan of the City.⁷ Of the original temple the only parts remaining are a portion of the very lofty platform (*podium*), built of massive blocks of travertine, and part of the lowest coursing of the marble facing which once lined the whole platform. On the platform are still standing eight columns and a clumsily patched entablature, but they belong to the last restoration of the temple undertaken by Diocletian after a fire. The columns, which are of grey and red Egyptian granite, may be older than the restoration, but they were hurriedly reset in a very careless way; some of them are even placed upside down. On the existing rude entablature may still be read part of the inscription which recorded the restoration after the fire.⁸

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 233 sqq.

² Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 357 sq.; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 42; Festus, s.v. "Saturnia", p. 430 ed. Lindsay; Solinus, i. 13; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 34. 1; Justin, xliii. 1. 5; Tertullian, *Apolog.* 10, *Ad Nationes*, ii. 12.

³ Livy, ii. 21. 1; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 1. 4; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 8. 1; *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 245, 337; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 360; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 4.

⁴ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 42.

⁵ Varro, reported by Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 8. 1.

⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 5; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 4.

⁷ H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*⁶, p. 114, fig. 19; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², p. 22, fig. 5.

⁸ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 265-268; compare O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², p. 89; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², pp. 79-81; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*⁶, pp. 113-115, 227-229; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 178-179.

It is said that on the site which was afterwards occupied by the temple of Saturn there stood of old an altar of Saturn, founded by Hercules, at which the ritual of sacrifice was Greek, the head of the sacrificer being bare instead of being muffled or veiled in the Roman manner.¹ A legend was told to explain this difference between Greek and Roman ritual. It was said that when Aeneas was sacrificing to his mother Venus on the shore of the Laurentian land, he covered his head lest he should be seen and recognized by his enemy Ulysses, which would have obliged him to interrupt the sacrifice.² The true motive for the Roman rule probably was the fear lest, at the moment of offering the sacrifice, the eyes of the officiating priest should fall on any ill-omened object.³ But in the worship of Saturn the custom of sacrificing with uncovered head seems to have been observed down to the latest times.⁴ Similarly in sacrificing to Hercules at the Great Altar (*Ara Maxima*) the head of the sacrificer was uncovered.⁵

VI. 33. I am called the consort of the Thunderer.—Once when Augustus was travelling by night in Cantabria, a flash of lightning struck the litter in which he was riding and killed the torch-bearer who went before him. In gratitude for his escape the Emperor caused a temple of Jupiter the Thunderer to be built on the Capitol.⁶ The temple was dedicated on the first of September in the year 22 B.C.⁷ After its dedication Augustus often visited the temple; but one night he dreamed that Capitoline Jupiter complained to him that his worshippers were drawn away from him by the attractions of the fashionable new temple next door. In his dream the Emperor apologized to the offended deity by explaining that he had only installed the Thunderer to act as doorkeeper

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 34. 4, vi. 1. 4; Festus, s.v. "Saturnia", pp. 430, 432 ed. Lindsay.

² Festus, s.v. "Saturnia", pp. 430, 432 ed. Lindsay.

³ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 407.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Lucem," "Saturnia," "Saturno," pp. 106, 430, 432, 462, 464 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 34. 4; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 11; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 8. 2; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 407.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 6. 17.

⁶ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 3; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 5, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl⁴.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 214, 328; Dio Cassius, liv. 4.

to his Capitoline Majesty; and when he woke, by way of corroborating his excuse, he caused bells to be hung from the gable of the temple, that worshippers might ring them to announce their arrival, just as people rang the bell at a friend's door when they paid him a call.¹ The story is interesting as an example of the ease with which a god may be multiplied by the simple process of multiplying his epithets; for clearly the Emperor imagined that Capitoline Jupiter regarded Thundering Jupiter with jealousy and mistrust as a rival who was supplanting him in the affections of the faithful.

VI. 34. **my temple is joined to that of Tarpeian Jupiter.**—"Tarpician" is here equivalent to "Capitoline". According to Varro,² the Capitol was formerly called the Tarpeian Hill after the Vestal Virgin Tarpeia who betrayed the citadel to the Sabines.³ We have seen⁴ that in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter the shrine of Juno immediately adjoined that of Jupiter.

VI. 35. **If a leman could give her name to the month of May.**—The leman is Maia, the mother of Mercury (Hermes) by Jupiter (Zeus).⁵ Here Juno, or rather Ovid, confounds the old Italian goddess Maia with her namesake, the mother of Hermes.⁶

VI. 37. **To what purpose, then, am I called Queen?**—So in Virgil the goddess styles herself Queen of the Gods.⁷ Indeed, one of her regular titles was Queen;⁸ it seems to have been particularly applied to her in the great temple on the Capitol which she shared with Jupiter and Minerva.⁹ Queen Juno is repeatedly mentioned in the official report of the Secular Games celebrated by Augustus in 17 B.C.; a beautiful heifer was sacrificed to her on that occasion.¹⁰ There was a special temple dedicated to Queen Juno near the Flaminian Circus; it was vowed by the consul M. Aemilius

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 91. 2; Dio Cassius, liv. 4.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 41.

³ See Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 261 sqq.

⁴ See above, pp. 129 sq.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 81 sqq.

⁶ See above, pp. 1 sq.

⁷ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 46.

⁸ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 67.

⁹ Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 23. 47, *Pro domo sua*, 57. 144, *In Verrem*, Act. II. Lib. V. 72. 184.

¹⁰ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1050, lines 120, 125.

Lepidus in his last battle with the Ligurians in 187 B.C. and dedicated by him in his censorship in 179 B.C.¹ It was connected by a colonnade with a temple of Fortune.² Under the title of Queen the goddess was also worshipped in several cities both of Etruria and Latium. Thus in Veii, the wealthiest city of Etruria, which stood a siege, summer and winter, of ten years before it yielded to the Roman arms, Queen Juno was worshipped above all the gods. Her temple in the citadel was the largest and most venerable in the city. When, in the year 396 B.C., the dictator M. Furius Camillus was setting out for the final assault on the doomed city, he vowed to Queen Juno of Veii that, if he were victorious, he would bring her back to Rome, where she would be installed in a temple worthy of her dignity. The mine by which the Romans made their entry into the city opened in the very temple of Juno, and it is said that the Romans in the mine could hear the voice of the soothsayer in the temple declaring the sacrificial omens before they burst, sword in hand, into the hallowed precinct. When the city had been taken and sacked, and the slaughter at last ceased, young men were chosen from the whole army to carry the image of Queen Juno to Rome. To prepare them for this sacred duty they bathed and put on white raiment. It was a rule of the Etruscan ritual that none but the priest of a certain family or clan might handle that holy image; so the young men entered the temple with awe and approached the image with fear and trembling. But one of them, either inspired or in jest, inquired, "Will you go to Rome, Juno?" whereupon all the rest cried out that the goddess signified her assent by a nod; some even said that she spoke it audibly. Be that as it may, the image was removed from its pedestal, carried without the least difficulty or accident to Rome, and installed on the Aventine, which was thenceforth to be her eternal home, and there afterwards (in 392 B.C.) Camillus dedicated to her the temple which he had vowed. The dedication was attended by a throng of devout and enthusiastic matrons.³

¹ Livy, xxxix. 2. 11, xl. 52. 1-3.

² Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 16 (75), p. 155 ed. Roszbach.

³ Livy, v. 21-23, 31. 3; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 3 (who erroneously calls the goddess Juno Moneta); Plutarch, *Camillus*, 5 sq.; Dio Cassius, xiii. 3.

This temple of Juno on the Aventine was long afterwards repaired by Augustus.¹ The day when the temple was dedicated was the first of September.²

In 217 B.C., immediately before the great battle with Hannibal at the Trasimene Lake, special sacrifices were offered to Queen Juno on the Aventine, and the Roman matrons subscribed to make her a present.³ Some ten years later, in 207 B.C., the temple of the goddess on the Aventine was struck by lightning, and to expiate the prodigy the soothsayers took measures proportioned to the gravity of the occasion. All married women living within ten miles of the city were summoned to meet in solemn conclave on the Capitol. There the ladies laid their heads together and appointed a committee of twenty-five to receive subscriptions. With the money thus collected a golden basin was made and offered to Queen Juno in her temple on the Aventine. Further, two images of Queen Juno made of cypress wood were carried in procession, followed by thrice nine virgins clad in long robes and chanting a hymn in honour of the goddess. From the Forum the procession took its way by the Tuscan Street and the Velabrum through the Cattle Market and so up the Publician Slope to the temple of Queen Juno on the Aventine, where two white heifers were sacrificed and the wooden images deposited in the sacred edifice.⁴ The temple is believed to have stood near the site of the church of S. Sabina on the Aventine, for two inscriptions recording dedications to Queen Juno were found near the church.⁵

Juno was also worshipped under the title of Queen at Ardea in Latium. There her temple was decorated with paintings by a certain Plautius Marcus, of which the townspeople were very proud: magniloquent verses painted in antique letters on the walls to the greater glory of the goddess and of the painter described her as "Queen Juno, wife of the Supreme

¹ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 6, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 26 ed. Diehl⁴.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 214, 328; Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 8.

³ Livy, xxii. 1. 17 sq.

⁴ Livy, xxvii. 37. As to the procession of the twenty-seven virgins see above, p. 78.

⁵ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 165-167; A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, p. 106; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 415 sq.

God".¹ Again, at Lanuvium in Latium, where there was a famous worship of Juno the Saviour (*Sospes*), the goddess received also the titles of Mother and Queen.²

VI. 39. **Shall the days (luces) make up a month and I be called Lucina after them.**—Ovid has already spoken of the title Lucina applied to Juno and expressed his doubt as to its derivation.³ As goddess of the moon Juno was worshipped on the first day of the month, which in the old lunar calendar had regularly been the day of the new moon.⁴

VI. 41. **loyally laid aside my anger at the offspring of Electra and the Dardanian house.**—Electra was said to have been beloved by Zeus and to have given birth to Dardanus, who founded the city which was afterwards called Troy.⁵ Thus from the outset Juno (Hera) owed the Trojans a grudge on account of their descent from one of her faithless husband's many lemans. This original offence was afterwards aggravated, as the goddess here reminds us (and as she had also mentioned in Virgil),⁶ by the rape of Ganymede and the judgement of Paris.⁷ According to Virgil,⁸ Juno renounced her old grudge at the Trojans when Aeneas, the Trojan, had made good his footing in Italy; but according to Horace,⁹ it was not till Romulus ascended up to heaven in the character of Quirinus that Juno was finally reconciled to the descendants of the Trojans.

VI. 45. **that I cherish not the battlements of Carthage.**—Ovid clearly had in mind the passage of Virgil which describes Juno's partiality for Carthage; she preferred Carthage, he tells us, to all lands on earth, even to her favourite Samos; there, in Carthage, were her arms and there her chariot.¹⁰ On this passage of Virgil, his old commentator Servius quotes a curious prayer which, he tells us, was used

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 115.

² H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 316, 3097, 5683, 6196. Compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 187 sqq. As to Saviour Juno (*Juno Sospes*) at Lanuvium see note on *Fasti*, ii. 55.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 449 sq., iii. 255 sq.

⁴ See note on *Fasti*, i. 55.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, v. 48. 2 sq.; Apollodorus, iii. 12. 1 sq.

⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 25-28.

⁷ As to Ganymede see *Fasti*, ii. 145 sq.; as to Paris see *Fasti*, vi. 15 sq.

⁸ Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 791 sqq.

⁹ Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3. 15 sqq.

¹⁰ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 12-18.

in the sacred rites at Tibur: "O curule Juno, do thou by thy chariot and shield preserve in good health my home-born slaves of the ward."¹ Homer has described the splendid chariot of Hera (Juno), wrought of gold, silver, and bronze.² But probably the Carthaginian goddess whom the Romans identified with Juno was a Phoenician deity, perhaps Astarte or Tanith. A Phoenician inscription, recording the dedication of richly adorned sanctuaries to these two goddesses, was found at Carthage in 1898 and is now in the local museum. It appears to date from the third or second century B.C.; hence the temples to which it refers were no doubt built before the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. and probably perished in the sack.³

VI. 47. **my Mycenae, and ancient Samos.**—There was in antiquity a great sanctuary of Hera (Juno) situated on a hill about three miles south-east of Mycenae. In 1892–1895 the sanctuary was completely excavated by American archaeologists under the direction of (Sir) Charles Waldstein (Walston).⁴ In Samos there was an ancient and famous sanctuary of Hera; indeed, if we can trust the testimony of the patriotic Samians, the goddess was actually born in their island; her image in the temple was believed to have been made by Smilis, a contemporary of Daedalus;⁵ but the original image is said to have been simply a wooden board.⁶ The old temple was burnt down by the Persians,⁷ but it was restored. Herodotus tells us that it was the largest temple he had ever seen.⁸ Among the votive offerings in it were two portrait statues in wood of the Egyptian King Amasis,

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 17, "*Iuno curulis, tuo curru clypeoque tuere meos curiae vernulas sane*". But apparently the passage should be read: "*Iuno curitis, tua curi clypeoque tuere meos curiae vernulas sane*", "O Juno, goddess of the spear (*curis*), do thou by thy spear and shield keep in good health my home-born slaves of the ward". See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 189 note². *Curis* was the Sabine word for a spear (Festus, s.v. "*Curis*", p. 43 ed. Lindsay). As to the title *Curitis* see below, note on *Fasti*, vi. 49, p. 139.

² Homer, *Il.* v. 720–732.

³ G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903), p. 127, Inscription No. 45.

⁴ Pausanias, ii. 17, with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 165 sqq., vol. v. pp. 561 sq.).

⁵ Pausanias, vii. 4. 4–7.

⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 46, p. 40 ed. Potter.

⁷ Pausanias, vii. 5. 4.

⁸ Herodotus, iii. 60.

dedicated by the monarch himself;¹ also a picture of the army of Darius crossing the bridge over the Bosphorus; this picture was dedicated by Darius out of gratitude to the Samian architect Mandrocles who had constructed the bridge for him.² Tradition ran that Juno had been not only born but married in Samos; hence her later image represented her in the costume of a bride, and her nuptials were celebrated every year in the island.³

VI. 49. **old Tatius and the Faliscans who worship Juno.**—The Sabine king Titus Tatius is said to have introduced the worship of Juno Curitis at Rome and to have set up a table in her honour in every ward (*curia*) of the city; these tables still existed down to the beginning of our era,⁴ and sacrifices were offered on them to the goddess.⁵ At Falerii, in Etruria, Juno was worshipped under the title of Quiritis or Curritis; she had a sacred grove there, and a pontiff (*pontifex sacrarius*) superintended her worship.⁶ At Beneventum also Juno was worshipped under the name of Quiritis.⁷ The meaning and derivation of the adjectives Curitis, Curritis, and Quiritis are doubtful. Some apparently connected them with *curia*, "a ward"; at Tibur the adjective seems to have been thought to refer either to a chariot (*currus*) or a spear (*curis*).⁸ In any case the Juno who bore the title was apparently a Sabine goddess.⁹ A temple of Juno Quiritis or Curritis seems to have stood in the Field of Mars; the day of its dedication was the seventh of October.¹⁰ The worship of Juno is said to have been instituted at Falerii by Halaesus, a fugitive from Argos; Ovid has described the annual procession in honour of the goddess, which he tells us was Greek in character.¹¹

¹ Herodotus, ii. 182.

² Herodotus, iv. 88.

³ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; compare Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 7.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 3.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Curiales mensae", p. 56 ed. Lindsay, who gives Curis instead of Curitis as the epithet applied to Juno.

⁶ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3111, 5374; compare Tertullian, *Apologet.* 24, "Faliscorum in honorem patris Curis, unde accepit cognomen Iuno".

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3096.

⁸ See above note on *Fasti*, vi. 45, p. 138.

⁹ L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 278; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 186, 187, 188.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 331.

¹¹ Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 13. See note on *Fasti*, iv. 73.

VI. 59. **Look at the calendar of woodland Aricia.**—So Macrobius reports that, in the opinion of the antiquary Cingius (Cincius), the old name of June among the Latins was Junonius, and in support of this view he observed that the month was long so called in the calendars of Aricia and Praeneste.¹ Festus also mentions Junonius and Junonalis as other forms of the name of June.²

VI. 60. **my own Lanuvium.**—There was a famous temple of Juno the Saviour (*Sospes* or *Sospita*) at Lanuvium.³

VI. 65. **The wife of Hercules.**—In Greek mythology the wife of Hercules was Hebe, daughter of Zeus and Hera :⁴ she personified the prime of adolescent youth. But clearly Ovid was thinking not so much of Hebe as of her Latin equivalent Juventas, the personification of youth, whose name he connected rightly with *iuvenis*, "a young man", and wrongly with *Iunius*, "June" (line 88). In 218 B.C., when Hannibal was hovering like a dark thundercloud over the north of Italy, and the Roman mind was much perturbed by the report of prodigies, the Sibylline books were consulted and various measures of religion adopted to appease the gods and allay the popular agitation. Among the rest a formal banquet (*lectisternium*) was offered to Juventas and prayers were put up in the temple of Hercules ; moreover, forty pounds weight of gold was sent as a present to Juno at Lanuvium, and the matrons dedicated a bronze statue to Juno on the Aventine.⁵ Apparently, in view of the coming struggle with Hannibal, the Romans thought it good policy to ensure the favour of the burly hero Hercules, his wife, and mother-in-law. At the decisive battle of the Metaurus, in which Hasdrubal was defeated and the fate of Carthage sealed, the Roman consul, M. Livius Salinator, vowed a temple to Juventas ; in 191 B.C. the temple was dedicated in the Circus Maximus and games were celebrated in honour of the occasion.⁶ The temple was burnt down in the year 16 B.C.,⁷ but restored by Augustus.⁸ A curious ceremony was annually

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 30.

² Festus, s.v. "Iunium", p. 92 ed. Lindsay. ³ See note on *Fasti*, ii. 55.

⁴ Homer, *Od.* xi. 601-604 ; Hesiod, *Theog.* 950-955 ; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7.

⁵ Livy, xxi. 62.

⁶ Livy, xxxvi. 36. 5-7.

⁷ Dio Cassius, liv. 19. 7.

⁸ *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 8, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 26 ed. Diehl⁴.

observed near the temple of Juventas. A dog, crucified alive on a fork of elderwood, was carried in procession, while in front or behind a goose, gorgeously adorned with purple and gold and seated in state on a costly carpet, was borne in a litter, the pageant being designed to commemorate the geese which had saved the Capitol by giving the alarm with their cackle, while the dogs nearly betrayed it by their slumber.¹

VI. 80. **Hither he drove the captured kine.**—Ovid has already described the coming of Hercules to Rome with the cattle of Geryon.²

VI. 82. **Cacus . . . dyed with his blood the soil of the Aventine.**—The combat of Hercules with Cacus has already been told by our author.³

VI. 83. **Romulus . . . distributed the people into two parts according to their years.**—According to Macrobius, "Fulvius Nobilior, in the calendar (*fasti*) which he placed in the temple of Hercules (leader) of the Muses, says that Romulus divided the people into seniors (*maiores*) and juniors, in order that the seniors might guard the commonwealth by their counsel and the juniors by their weapons; and he named the month of May in compliment to the elders (*maiores*) and the following month of June in honour of the juniors".⁴

VI. 91. **Concord came, at once the deity and the work of the pacific chief.**—Ovid has already spoken of the goddess Concord and her temple at Rome.⁵ "The pacific chief" is Augustus, who restored concord in the Roman empire after the civil wars.

VI. 93. **how Tatius and brave Quirinus . . . had united.**—The union of the Sabines under Tatius with the Romans under Romulus (Quirinus) has already been described by our author.⁶

VI. 101. **The first day is given to thee, Carna.**—The name and function of this obscure goddess seem to indicate that she was a personification of flesh (*caro, carnis*), though Ovid, misled by the superficial similarity of their

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 57; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 652; Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 12. As to the geese which saved the Capitol see Livy, v. 47. 1-4; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 27.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543 *sqq.*

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 547 *sqq.*

⁴ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 59 *sqq.*

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 637-650.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 195-228.

names, has confounded her with Cardea, the goddess of hinges (*cardines*).¹ Carna was believed to preside over the vital organs of the human frame; hence prayers were put up to her that she would preserve the liver, heart, and other internal organs in good health. On the expulsion of Tarquin the Proud, the consul Junius Brutus dedicated a shrine (*sacrum*) to Carna on the Caelian Hill.²

VI. 105. **an ancient grove of Helernus.**—Ovid has already mentioned this grove.³

VI. 129. **a thorn . . . and white it was . . . with which she could repel all baleful harm from doors.**—Whitethorn or buckthorn (Greek *ράμνος*) seems to have been often employed both by Romans and Greeks as a charm against witchcraft and other evil influences. A Roman bride was conducted to her home by three boys whose parents were alive; one of them carried a lighted torch made of whitethorn.⁴ The material of the torch was probably chosen for its power to ward off witches, ill-wishes, the evil eye, and so forth. The Greeks thought that branches of whitethorn or buckthorn fastened to doors or windows kept out witches,⁵ and that the same thorn could protect them against ghosts on the day of the year when the souls of the dead were supposed to be prowling about the city.⁶ When the atheist Bion lay dying, he not only caused sacrifices to be offered on his behalf to the gods whose existence he had denied, but got an old hag to mumble incantations over him and to bind magical thongs about his arms, and he had boughs of whitethorn or buckthorn and laurel attached to the lintel to keep out death.⁷ Modern peasants also regard whitethorn as a protection against witchcraft. For example, on Walpurgis Night (the Eve of May Day), witches are supposed to be very busy stealing the milk of cows; hence, to protect the animals against their nefarious arts, the Bohemians lay

¹ As to Cardea see Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 8.

² Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 31 sq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 67.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Patrimi", p. 282 ed. Lindsay; Nonius Marcellus, s.v. "Faxs", p. 161 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, i. 119.

⁶ Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *μαρὰ ἡμέρα*; Scholiast on Nicander, *Theriaca* 861, who adds that the thorn was both black and white.

⁷ Diogenes Laertius, iv. 54-57.

branches of hawthorn, gooseberry bushes, and wild rose-trees on the thresholds of the cowhouses, believing that the witches will thus be caught in the thorns and will be unable to get at the cows.¹ With a like intent on May Morning Irish peasants twine branches of whitethorn and mountain ash or rowan about the door.² In the light of these parallels we may conjecture that in like manner on the first of June the Romans used to fasten branches of whitethorn to their doors to keep out the vampire birds described by Ovid.³

VI. 131. **greedy birds, not those that cheated Phineus' maw.**—The birds that cheated Phineus' maw were the Harpies, winged female monsters which snatched away the food from the king's table and so defiled the remnant that none could touch it.⁴ From these foul creatures Ovid distinguishes the vampire birds called *striges* (screech-owls), which were supposed to rend the flesh and suck the blood of infants. He tells us (lines 141-142) that according to one theory they were old women transformed into birds by a magic spell; and this seems to have been the view adopted, or at all events expounded, by Festus, who in a mutilated passage defines them as witches (*maleficae mulieres*) that fly through the air (*volaticae*).⁵ Elsewhere Ovid has described an old witch whom he suspected of flitting about by night in the shape of a bird.⁶

VI. 142. **transformed into fowls by a Marsian spell.**—The Marsians, who inhabited the highlands of Central Italy, were famous for their wizardry; their spells were, proverbial.⁷ In particular it was thought that they possessed a complete mastery over serpents, which they could lull to sleep by their chants and disarm of their poison or

¹ Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalendar aus Böhmen* (Prague, N.D.), p. 210.

² Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (London, 1887), i. 196 sq.

³ On this subject see further A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*² (Gütersloh, 1886), pp. 209 sq.; J. Murr, *Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), pp. 104-106; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, p. 153.

⁴ Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 178 sqq.; Apollodorus, i. 9. 21; Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 225 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Strigae", p. 414 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Ovid, *Amores*, i. 8. 1-14.

⁷ Horace, *Epod.* v. 75 sq., xvii. 27-29; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 19.

heal their sting by the use of herbs and spells ;¹ indeed, their bodies were supposed to be immune to the venom of serpents, like those of the Psylli in Africa and the Ophiogenes in Cyprus.²

VI. 143. **they came into the chambers of Proca.**—Proca or Procas was one of the kings of Alba Longa, father of Numitor and Amulius.³

VI. 155. **thrice touched the doorposts . . . with arbutus leaves.**—Striking or beating persons or things with branches or other instruments is a common mode of dispelling magical or other evil influence by which the person or thing is supposed to be menaced or obsessed. Sometimes it is prescribed that the branch should be of a particular sort of tree, shrub, or plant ; for example, in Europe the branches are often of willow, birch, or fir, but juniper and rosemary are also used for the purpose.⁴

VI. 162. **This life we give you for a better life.**—Thus the sacrifice was regarded as vicarious : the vampire birds were asked to accept the inwards of the pig instead of the inwards of the child. The theory and practice of vicarious sacrifice have played a great part in the history of religion.⁵

VI. 164. **forbade those present at the sacrifice to look back.**—In magical and religious rites it is a common rule that the performer must not look behind him. The rule was observed both in Greek and Roman ritual, particularly in ceremonies concerned with the dead or with powers deemed dangerous.⁶ We have seen that at the Lemuria, when the householder was throwing beans to the spirits of the dead, he was warned not to look behind him, because the ghosts were at his heels gathering up the beans.⁷ In the ritual

¹ Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 750-755 ; Silius Italicus, viii. 497-499 ; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 11 ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 11.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 78, xxviii. 30.

³ Livy, i. 3. 9. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 53.

⁴ W. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus* (Berlin, 1875), pp. 251-303 ; *id.*, *Mythologische Forschungen* (Strassburg, 1884), pp. 113-153 ; *The Golden Bough*, Part VI. *The Scapegoat*, pp. 255-273.

⁵ Compare E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1906-1908), i. 65 *sqq.*, 438 *sqq.*

⁶ Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 96-99 ; Sophocles, *Oedip. Colon.* 490 ; Theocritus, xxiv. 95 *sq.* ; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 439 *sq.* ; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 176, xxix. 91. See further E. Rohde, *Psyche* (Tübingen und Leipzig, 1903), ii. 85 *sq.*

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 439 *sq.*

books of ancient India the same rule not to look back is often prescribed, especially in rites concerned with the dead or demons or dreaded deities.¹ In Northern India it is still thought to be very dangerous to look back towards the place of burial or cremation, lest the souls of the mourners should be detained by the spirits of the dead.² It was a maxim ascribed to Pythagoras that on setting out on a journey from home you should not turn back, because the Furies are following behind you.³ This superstitious objection to turn or look back appears still to be prevalent in many parts of the world. In some parts of Germany it is thought that, when a person is going abroad, he ought not to look back at his home, or he will have no luck.⁴ A Highland servant told my mother that in Sutherlandshire, if anyone is going on an important errand and has left anything behind him, he would stand and call for it for a week rather than go back to fetch it.⁵ In Germany they say that when you hear a ghost, you should not look round or your neck will be wrung,⁶ no doubt by the ghost; and in Germany also, when you are performing any magical ceremony, for the purpose, let us say, of stealing milk from your neighbour's cow, or bunging up your fever in a willow tree, or bringing a still-born child to life by cutting off the head of a new-born calf, carrying it to a bridge, and throwing it into the water, in all these and similar cases it is of the first importance for the success of the business you have in hand that you should not look round.⁷ Failure to observe

¹ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 335 sq., 487 sq., 577 sq.; W. Caland, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuchen* (Amsterdam, 1896), p. 73; *id.*, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam, 1900), p. 11.

² W. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 239.

³ Jamblichus, *Adhortatio*, 21, p. 312 ed. Kiessling; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium Haeresium*, vi. 26. The rule is mentioned without the reason for it by Plutarch, *De liberis educandis*, 17; Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1. 17; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 42. Compare Fr. Boehm, *De symbolis Pythagoreis* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 47 sq.

⁴ J. A. E. Köhler, *Volksbrauch, Aberglauben, Sagen und andre alte Ueberlieferungen im Voigtlande* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 426.

⁵ J. G. Frazer, "Some Popular Superstitions of the Ancients," *Folk-lore*, i. (1890) p. 155, where I have collected more evidence on the subject.

⁶ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, iii. p. 444, No. 299.

⁷ A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*² (Berlin, 1869), pp. 152, 249, 270, 280, 309, 310, 315, 327, 332 (§§ 219, 390, 422, 439, 488, 491, 499, 521, 529).

this golden rule inevitably leads to disappointment or even disaster.

VI. 169. **why fat bacon is eaten . . . and why beans are mixed with hot spelt.**—According to Macrobius, fat bacon and a porridge of beans were offered in sacrifice to Carna on the first of June because bodily strength is above all nourished by these things; hence the first of June was popularly known as the Bean Calends (*Kalendae fabariae*).¹ Varro also mentioned that on the first of June people sacrificed bean porridge to the gods both publicly and privately;² and Pliny notes the use of bean porridge in religious rites.³

VI. 175. **the fowl that rich Ionia supplies.**—This is said to be the francolin (*attagen*).⁴ It was caught in Gaul and Spain and among the Alps, but the Ionian sort was the most famous: they were vocal in the wild state, but dumb in captivity.⁵ The bird is described as a little larger than a partridge, speckled on the back, and of a dull earthen colour with a tinge of red.⁶ Its flesh was esteemed a dainty,⁷ especially the flesh of the Ionian kind.⁸ The francolin, once common in Southern Europe, is said to be fast disappearing from Asia Minor, but it still ranges thence through Armenia, Persia, and Beluchistan, to Northern India, where it is well known to English people as the black partridge.⁹

VI. 176. **the bird that delights in Pygmy blood.**—The cranes were said to wage war on the Pygmies beside the streams of ocean.¹⁰ Aristotle mentions the battle of the Pygmies and the cranes, and positively asserts that the Pygmies were a real tribe living in the marshes of Upper

¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 33.

² Varro, *De vita populi Romani*, lib. i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Mactare", p. 539 ed. Lindsay.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 118, where we must read *puls fabata* for *pulsa faba*.

⁴ D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 37 sq.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 133.

⁶ Athenaeus, ix. 39, p. 387 f.

⁷ Athenaeus, *l.c.* and xiv. 67, p. 652 e; Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius, vi. 16. 5.

⁸ Horace, *Epod.* ii. 53 sq.; Martial, xiii. 61.

⁹ Alfred Newton, *Dictionary of Birds* (London, 1893-1896), p. 291.

¹⁰ Homer, *Il.* iii. 3-7; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 16; Pausanias, i. 12. 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 90-92; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 26; Juvenal, xiii. 167-170; Mela, iii. 81, p. 81 ed. Parthey.

Egypt, from which the Nile flowed.¹ It is not impossible that the Pygmies are to be identified with the dwarf tribes whose descendants still roam the densest forests of central Africa.²

VI. 177. *in the peacock naught but the feathers pleased.*—Roman epicures feasted on peacocks.³ The first to kill peacocks for the table is said to have been the orator Hortensius.⁴

VI. 183. *the temple of Juno Moneta . . . on the summit of the citadel.*—This temple has already been mentioned by Ovid.⁵ The Capitoline Hill comprises two peaks of approximately equal height with a hollow or saddle between them. The south-western peak is the Capitol proper; the north-eastern and slightly higher peak, covered in mediaeval and modern times by the church and monastery of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, was the *arx* or citadel proper. It was on this citadel that the temple of Juno Moneta was built. The site of the temple appears to be now occupied by the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli.⁶ The temple of Juno Moneta was vowed by the dictator L. Furius Camillus during the heat of a battle with the Auruncians in 345 B.C.: a site for the temple was assigned on the citadel, where the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus had stood; and in the following year (344 B.C.) the temple was dedicated.⁷ From the present passage of Ovid we infer that the temple was dedicated on the first of June, and the inference is confirmed by a note in the Venusian calendar⁸ and by a statement of Macrobius.⁹ According to Cicero, the title Moneta ("the Warner") was bestowed on Juno because once, during an earthquake, a voice was heard from her temple on the citadel warning the people to offer an expiatory sacrifice (*procuratio*) of a pregnant

¹ Aristotle, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 12, p. 597 a 6 sqq. ed. Bekker.

² Compare my note on Pausanias, i. 12. 4 (vol. ii. pp. 107 sq.).

³ Martial, xiii. 70; Juvenal, i. 143.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 45.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 637 sqq.

⁶ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 353 sq., 366 sq. For the distinction between the Capitol (*Capitolium*) and the citadel (*arx*) see Livy, vi. 20. 9, "*Capitolium atque arcem intuentes*"; Aulus Gellius, v. 12. 2, "*Est autem etiam aedes Vediovis Romae inter arcem et Capitolium*"; Strabo, v. 3. 2, p. 230, ἀποδείξας ἀσυλὸν τι τέμενος μεταξύ τῆς ἀκρας καὶ τοῦ Καπετωλίου.

⁷ Livy, vi. 20. 13, vii. 28. 4-6; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 36. 7.

⁸ *C.I.L.* i. 2 pp. 221, 319.

⁹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 30.

sow.¹ When the monastic buildings of the Aracoeli were destroyed to make room for the gigantic monument to Victor Emmanuel, no remains of the temple of Juno Moneta were discovered.²

VI. 185. **Manlius, who once protected Capitoline Jupiter against the Gallic arms.**—In 390 B.C. the Gauls occupied Rome, and, clambering up the steep slope of the Capitol by night while the garrison slept, nearly succeeded in capturing the fortress. Roused by the cackling of the sacred geese, M. Manlius gave the alarm, and leading his men to the charge drove the enemy headlong down the precipice. For this service he received great honours and was accorded the surname of Capitolinus.³ Afterwards, in 384 B.C., by defending the cause of the plebeians he incurred the hatred of the patricians, who accused him of aiming at the crown. Being brought to trial in a grove outside the walls, where the Capitol, which he had saved, could not be seen, he was condemned to death and hurled from the Tarpeian rock; thus the scene of his glory was the place of his execution. His house on the citadel was razed to the ground, and the temple of Juno Moneta built on the site. Further, a law was passed that no patrician should thenceforth dwell on the Capitol or the citadel.⁴

VI. 191. **Mars, whose temple . . . is seen from afar without the walls from the Capene Gate.**—This temple was vowed in the Gallic war of 390 B.C. and dedicated in 387 B.C.⁵ Its situation is mentioned by Livy, who tells us that in 350 B.C., when the Gauls had invaded Latium in great force, the Roman army mustered at the temple of Mars outside the Capene Gate.⁶ And every year in memory of the victory of Lake Regillus, which gave the death-blow to the exiled house of Tarquin, the Roman cavalry mustered at the temple of Mars and rode in battle array, with all the pomp of war, regiment after regiment, squadron

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 101.

² J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 367.

³ Livy, v. 47; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 27 and 36.

⁴ Livy, vi. 18-20; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 24; Aulus Gellius, xvii. 21. 24; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 36; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* xiv. 4. 6 (frag.).

⁵ Livy, vi. 5. 8.

⁶ Livy, vii. 23. 1-3.

after squadron, the veterans wearing all their decorations, through the streets of the city to the Forum and past the temple of Castor and Pollux, the two divine horsemen who had been seen leading the last decisive charge, while the evening shadows were closing in at the end of the hard-fought day. The Greek historian, who describes and must have witnessed this cavalry parade, tells us, and we may well believe, that it was a splendid spectacle, worthy of the Roman Empire.¹ The temple was situated on the Appian Way² which issued from the Capene Gate.³ We hear repeatedly of the road being paved with stone from the Capene Gate to the temple of Mars.⁴ Another time we read of the road being paved from the temple of Mars as far as Bovillae.⁵ In an inscription which records the rule of the College of Aesculapius and of Health (Hygia), the situation of the temple of Mars is described very exactly as on the Appian Way, between the second and third milestone from Rome, on the left-hand side as you go from the city.⁶ H. Jordan thought that the temple probably stood on the rising ground a little way outside the present Porta S. Sebastiano.⁷ The Covered Way here mentioned by Ovid is otherwise unknown. It was probably a colonnade or arcade lining the side of the Appian Way for some distance.⁸ There was another Covered Way in the north of Rome, near the Field of Mars.⁹ According to Seneca,¹⁰ it was at a spot between this Covered Way and the Tiber that the dead Emperor Claudius went down to hell.¹¹ Near the temple of Mars, outside the Capene Gate, was kept the stone which, in time of drought, used to be dragged into the city, whereupon rain was supposed to follow immediately.¹²

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 13.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292.

³ O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², p. 45.

⁴ Livy, x. 23. 12, xxxviii. 28. 3.

⁵ Livy, x. 47. 4

⁶ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 7213.

⁷ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, ii. 110-112.

⁸ Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 213 sq.

⁹ Martial, iii. 5. 5, viii. 75. 2.

¹⁰ Seneca, *De morte Claudii*, 13.

¹¹ See O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², p. 257.

¹² Festus, s.vv. "Aquaclitium", "Manalem lapidem", pp. 2, 115 ed. Lindsay; compare Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, s.v. "Trulleum", p. 877 ed. Lindsay.

VI. 193. *Thou, too, Storm, didst deserve a shrine.*—A temple was dedicated to the Tempests (*Tempestates*) by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, consul in 259 B.C., out of gratitude for his escape from a great storm off the coast of Corsica. In the first Punic war this Scipio commanded with success by sea and land, winning victories over the Sardinians, the Corsicans, and the Carthaginian general Hanno. In Corsica he struck terror into the inhabitants by the capture and sack of Aleria, a city on the eastern coast of the island. For these victories he celebrated a triumph.¹ This distinguished admiral and general was buried in the tomb of his family, the great house of the Scipios, outside the Capene Gate. The tomb, cut out of the tufa rock, still exists and is one of the oldest Roman burial-places known to survive. It faces on the Appian Way near the baths of Caracalla and runs for some distance into the fork formed by the junction of the Latin with the Appian Way. As the Cornelian family, contrary to the usual Roman custom, always maintained the practice of inhumation instead of incineration, the bodies of their dead were laid to their last rest in niches hewn in the rock and closed by large slabs of stone, on which the sepulchral inscriptions were cut and painted in red. On one such slab the epitaph of the admiral is engraved. In rude Saturnine verse it records his country's gratitude, the high offices he had held, his victories in Corsica, and his dedication of a temple to the Tempests. The inscription is now preserved in the Barberini palace.² In the same tomb was found the famous sarcophagus of the admiral's father, Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, who had paved the way for the Roman domination of Italy by his victories in Samnium and Lucania. The sarcophagus, cut out of a single block of peperino, is now in the Vatican. It was found to contain the well-preserved skeleton of the general with a gold signet ring on one of the fingers. The gem is a sard or carnelian, appropriately engraved with the standing figure of a winged Victory holding a palm branch. This priceless ring has found its way, through various channels, into Alnwick Castle.³

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 22, 47; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3; Livy, *Per.* xvii.; Florus, i. 18. 15 sq.

² H. Dessau, *l.c.*

³ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 268-270.

The tomb of the Scipios outside the Capene Gate is mentioned by Cicero¹ and by Livy, who tells us that it contained three statues, two of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and one of the poet Ennius.² In another passage Cicero notices the worship of the Tempests, which, he says, were consecrated by the rites of the Roman people.³ A dedication to the Tempests has been found at Lanuvium.⁴ When Octavian sailed with his fleet from Putcoli to attack Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, he offered sacrifice and poured libations to Fair Winds, to Guardian Neptune, and to the Waveless Sea;⁵ and at Antium there have been found three round marble altars inscribed with the names and adorned with images of the Winds, Neptune, and Calm (*Tranquilitas*), the last being represented by the beak of a ship and a sailor sailing with a spread sail. The altars are now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.⁶

VI. 196. **the bird of great Jupiter then rises.**—Similarly Columella says that the constellation of the Eagle (*Aquila*) rises on June 1 and 2;⁷ and Pliny writes that the Eagle rises at evening on June 2.⁸ The true evening rising of the Eagle in Ovid's time was June 3.⁹

VI. 197. **The next day calls up the Hyades.**—Ovid seems here to refer to the morning rising of the Hyades.¹⁰

VI. 201. **Bellona is said to have been consecrated in the Tuscan war.**—In a great battle with the united forces of the Etruscans and Samnites, fought in 296 B.C., the consul, Appius Claudius, surnamed Caecus ("the Blind"), vowed a temple to Bellona, goddess of war, if she vouchsafed victory to the Roman arms.¹¹ His honours and great deeds, including his victory over the Etruscans and his foundation of the temple

¹ Cicero, *Tusculan. Disput.* i. 7. 13.

² Livy, xxxviii. 56. 4.

³ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 20. 51.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3933.

⁵ Appian, *Bell. Civil.* v. 11. 98.

⁶ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3277, 3278, 3279.

⁷ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 45.

⁸ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 255 and 288. In the former of these passages of Pliny the MSS. read "*III non Iun.*" but this has been corrected by the editors by comparison with "*III non Iun.*" in the latter passage.

⁹ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 147.

¹⁰ See *Fasti*, v. 734 with the note.

¹¹ Livy, x. 19. 17.

of Bellona, are commemorated in an inscription which was found at Arezzo and is now in the museum at Florence.¹ Ovid's statement that the temple was dedicated on the third of June is confirmed by a note in the Venusian calendar, from which we learn that the temple was situated near the Circus Flaminius.² The Circus Flaminius was in the Field of Mars, outside the walls of Rome; it was of later date than the temple of Bellona, having been built by the ill-starred C. Flaminius, who fell with the flower of his army in the fatal battle of Lake Trasimene, 217 B.C.³ Hence, lying outside the city, the temple of Bellona was used by the Senate as a place of meeting when an audience was to be given to foreign ambassadors whom for any reason it was deemed inadvisable to admit within the walls.⁴ Thus, in 203 B.C., when the long Second Punic war was drawing to an end, and Hannibal had already sailed for Africa, casting many a lingering look at the coast of Italy fading behind him in the distance,⁵ the Carthaginian envoys who came to sue for peace were refused admittance to Rome, but were lodged in the Public Villa outside the walls, and the Senate granted them an audience in the neighbouring temple of Bellona;⁶ but the negotiations came to nothing: Carthage was not yet humbled to the dust.⁷ So in 197 B.C., after the defeat of Philip, king of Macedonia, in Thessaly, the Macedonian envoys who came to Rome to ask for peace were conducted outside the city and courteously entertained in the Public Villa, while the Senate met in the temple of Bellona to receive their overtures.⁸ Again, in 171 B.C., when the envoys of Perseus, king of Macedonia, came on the same errand, they were not admitted to Rome but heard by the Senate in the temple of Bellona.⁹

Further, when Roman generals on foreign service returned to Rome to report to the Senate or to solicit a triumph, they might not enter within the walls so long as they were invested with supreme command (*imperium*); hence the Senate gave

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 192; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 54.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 319.

³ Livy, *Per.* xx.; Festus, *s.v.* "Flaminius", p. 79 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Festus, *s.v.* "Senacula", p. 470 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Livy, xxx. 20.

⁶ Livy, xxx. 21. 11 sq.

⁷ Livy, xxx. 24. 3-5.

⁸ Livy, xxx. 22.

⁹ Livy, xlii. 36. 1-2.

them audience in the temple of Bellona outside the walls. Thus, in 211 B.C., when Marcellus returned to Rome from the scene of his glories in Sicily, where he had captured Syracuse and defeated the Carthaginians, the Senate received him in the temple of Bellona, and there he pleaded, but pleaded in vain, to be allowed to enter the city in triumph.¹ Again, in 207 B.C., when the two consuls, C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator, returned to Rome after their decisive victory over Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians at the Metaurus, they were met outside the city by an immense and enthusiastic crowd who pressed to greet them and shake them by the hand as the saviours of their country, and afterwards the Senate in the temple of Bellona received the report of the two victorious generals and decreed them jointly a double triumph.² In the following year, when the great Scipio returned from Spain, with all his laurels thick upon him, the Senate listened to him in the temple of Bellona while he recited his long roll of victory, but a triumph was not awarded to him, and he entered Rome as a private citizen to pour the spoils of the conquered province into the public treasury.³ In later years other generals, some of whom had done far less than Marcellus and Scipio for the glory of Rome and the expansion of her empire, pleaded not unsuccessfully in the temple of Bellona for the honour of a triumph.⁴ Sometimes, however, sitting in the same temple, the Senate refused the application of a general for this highest of military honours.⁵ In 82 B.C., when Sulla returned to Rome after his career of victory in the East, and had finally crushed the Samnites and Lucanians in a bloody battle outside the Colline Gate, he summoned the Senate to meet him in the temple of Bellona. But hardly had he begun to address them, when his voice was drowned in a sudden outburst of shrieks and groans proceeding from the Public Villa and the Circus Flaminius, where some six thousand of his enemies were at that moment, by his orders, being put to the sword. The ruthless general coolly bade the horror-stricken senators attend to what he was saying and pay no heed to the cries, which only proceeded from some criminals

¹ Livy, xxvi. 21. 1 sq.² Livy, xxviii. 9.³ Livy, xxviii. 38. 1-5.⁴ Livy, xxxi. 47-49, xxxiii. 22-23, xxxvi. 39-40, xli. 6-7.⁵ Livy, xlii. 9, xlii. 21.

who were receiving their deserts. The mangled bodies of the victims were flung into the Tiber, which ran red with their blood.¹ The number of the slain in this atrocious massacre is variously given by our authorities from three to eight thousand; Livy puts it at eight thousand, Seneca at seven, Plutarch at six. Plutarch may have followed Sulla's own *Memoirs*, to which he refers.² If the Goddess of War could have recorded all the reports she received and all the sounds that she heard in her temple, she might have written a great part of the Roman annals in blood on the walls.

The exact situation of the temple of Bellona is unknown, but from certain indications it is supposed to have been situated on the west side of the Circus Flaminius, perhaps near the present church of S. Venanzio.³

VI. 203. **Appius, who when peace was refused to Pyrrhus.**—After defeating the Romans in a great battle in 280 B.C., Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, offered them peace on honourable terms, and most of the Senators were inclined to accept the offer. But hearing that they were wavering, the blind old Appius Claudius, who, from age and infirmity, had long retired from public business, had himself carried in a litter through the Forum to the Senate-house, and there he addressed the assembly in a strain of fiery eloquence which so roused the drooping spirits of his hearers that they rejected the proffered peace with high disdain.⁴ Of this exploit the old man would seem to have been justly proud, for in the record of his deeds, engraved on stone, which has come down to us, it is expressly mentioned that "he prevented peace from being made with King Pyrrhus".⁵

VI. 206. **There stands a little pillar of no little note.**—Similarly Festus tells us that in front of the temple of Bellona there was a small pillar, over which it was cus-

¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, 30; Dio Cassius, xxx-xxxv. Frag. 109 (vol. ii. pp. 488-490 ed. Cary); Valerius Maximus, ix. 2. 1; Livy, *Per.* lxxxviii.; Florus, ii. 9. 4; Seneca, *De Clementia*, i. 12. 2; Strabo, v. 4. 11, p. 249.

² Plutarch, *Sulla*, 37.

³ O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 214 sq.; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 552-554; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 343 sq.

⁴ Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 18-19; Livy, *Per.* xiii.; Valerius Maximus, viii. 13. 5.

⁵ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 192, No. x.; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 54.

tomary to throw a spear when war was declared.¹ In ancient times the sacred herald (*fetialis*), whose duty it was to declare war on an enemy, used to advance to the boundary, and there, after pronouncing a solemn form of words, hurl a spear into the enemy's land. The head of the spear was either of iron or of wood hardened in the fire and dipped in blood; and the ceremony had to be performed in the presence of at least three adult men.² But in the war with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, it was not possible for the Roman herald to cast a spear into the enemy's country, which lay far away, across the stormy Adriatic; so, with that scrupulous regard for legal formalities which was a national characteristic, the Romans captured a soldier of Pyrrhus and compelled him to purchase a patch of ground in the Field of Mars, on the spot afterwards occupied by the Circus Flaminius; and there a pillar was set up in front of the temple of Bellona to mark the imaginary boundary of the Roman territory, and over it, in declarations of war, a spear was cast into the ground bought by the Epirote soldier, which was taken to represent the enemy's country.³ This patch of ground is no doubt the "small open space" mentioned by Ovid in the present passage. The ceremony described by the poet was performed in his day and long afterwards. When Octavian declared war on Cleopatra in 32 B.C., he went in person to the temple of Bellona attended by his staff in full military uniform, and there, acting as herald (*fetialis*), performed all the ancient rites customary on such an occasion.⁴ And in A.D. 178, when Marcus Aurelius was about to make war on the northern barbarians, he went to the temple of Bellona and cast the blood-stained spear into the patch of ground which represented the enemy's country.⁵

VI. 209. The other part of the Circus is protected by Guardian Hercules.—From Ovid's words we gather that the temple of Guardian Hercules near the Circus Flaminius was dedicated on the fourth of June. The inference is confirmed by an entry, "HERC. MAGN. CUSTO.", "to the Great Guardian Hercules", under the fourth of June in the Venusian calendar.⁶

¹ Festus, s.v. "Bellona", p. 30 ed. Lindsay.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 53.

³ Dio Cassius, lxxi. 33. 3.

⁴ Livy, i. 32. 12-14.

⁵ Dio Cassius, l. 4. 4 sq.

⁶ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 319.

Further, from an entry in the calendar of Philocalus, confirmed by entries in the Rustic calendars, we learn that sacred rites, accompanied by games in the Circus Flaminius, were celebrated in honour of Hercules on this day.¹ The inscription on the temple, mentioned by Ovid (line 212), might import that the temple was built in the time of Sulla, if not on his initiative; however, Wissowa argues that the temple was much older, and that Sulla only restored it. He supposes that the temple in question was the temple of Hercules at which supplications were offered in 218 B.C. before the battle of the Trasimene Lake,² and that it was the same temple of Hercules in which an image of the god was set up in 189 B.C. according to the directions of the Ten Men who had charge of the Sibylline books.³ Huelsen thinks that the temple of Guardian Hercules probably stood at the west end of the Circus Flaminius, and that it is possibly to be identified with the round temple of which remains exist near the Church of S. Nicola ai Ccsarini.⁴ This temple, to whatever god it may have belonged, stood on a circular platform built of concrete and was surrounded by sixteen fluted columns of tufa coated with white plaster. Fragments of seven of these columns have been preserved. The ruins are in the garden of the church, close to the south wall.⁵

VI. 210. **The god holds office in virtue of the Euboean oracle.**—By "the Euboean oracle" Ovid means the Sibylline books.⁶ Elsewhere he speaks of "the Euboean city",⁷ meaning Cumae, the Italian home of the Sibyl.

VI. 212. **Sulla approved the work.**—As a rule it was for the censors to examine and approve a public building before it was opened for general use. Thus in the year 435 B.C. the two censors approved the Public Villa in the

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 280, 319, with Mommsen's note.

² Livy, xxi. 62. 9. See note on *Fasti*, vi. 65.

³ Livy, xxxviii. 35. 4. See G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 266-268; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*³, pp. 276 sq.

⁴ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 552.

⁵ R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 457 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 347, 362 sq. Lanciani, like Huelsen, would assign this temple to Guardian Hercules.

⁶ See Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 257, with the note.

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 155.

Field of Mars.¹ This was natural enough, since it was part of the duty of the censors to contract for the construction of public works, including roads, aqueducts, and buildings. Amongst other things they had to see to the maintenance and repair of sacred edifices, which they were bound to keep roofed and water-tight (*sarta tecta*).² Hence the pious Romans were scandalized when, in the year 173 B.C., the Censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus unroofed part of the famous temple of Lacinian Juno in Bruttium and conveyed the marble tiles by sea to Rome, where he intended to employ them in roofing a magnificent new temple of Equestrian Fortune, which as praetor he had vowed during his war with the Celtiberians in Spain. The matter was brought before the Senate, and the Censor was censured in the severest terms for the sacrilege he had committed in unroofing and exposing to the inclemency of the weather a temple which even Hannibal had respected. It was intolerable that a magistrate, whose duty it was to keep sacred edifices in repair, should go about pulling them down and building up one temple with the ruins of another, just as if the immortal gods, instead of being one and the same everywhere, were different beings who could be tricked out in the spoils stripped from the abodes of their fellows. In a stormy sitting the indignant Senate unanimously voted that the tiles should be returned to the temple from which they had been impiously torn down, and that expiatory sacrifices should be offered to Juno in atonement for the insult offered to her divine majesty.³ In the case of the temple of Guardian Hercules we may suppose that, in virtue of the absolute power which he had usurped, Sulla took the credit of the restoration, or possibly of the dedication, by having his name inserted in the inscription on the front of the sacred edifice. That he should have done so is not surprising, since he appears to have entertained a particular devotion for Hercules, to whom he dedicated a tithe of his property. This tithe he expended in entertaining the people at a sumptuous feast, which lasted several days on a scale of such lavish profusion that great quantities of

¹ Livy, iv. 22. 7.

² Livy, xxiv. 18. 2 and 10, xlii. 3. 7.

³ Livy, xlii. 3.

superfluous dainties were daily thrown into the Tiber, and the revellers quaffed wines that had been kept in jars for forty years and more.¹

VI. 213. **whether I should refer the Nones to Sancus, or to Fidius, or to thee, Father Semo.**—On the Nones of June (that is, June 5) the Venusian calendar has the note: "*Dio fidio in colle*", that is "To Dius Fidius on the (Quirinal) Hill".² The temple was dedicated by the Consul Spurius Postumius on the Nones of June, 466 B.C. It had been built, or at all events founded, by the last Roman king, Tarquin the Proud; but for some reason, probably because the temple was long unfinished, its dedication was deferred for many years, and by the decree of the Senate the name of the Consul was inscribed on the edifice.³ In one passage Dionysius of Halicarnassus renders Dius Fidius in Greek by Zeus Pistios, that is, Zeus the God of Good Faith, which no doubt represents accurately enough the character and attributes of the deity.⁴ In other passages Dionysius explains that the Roman equivalent of Zeus Pistios was Sancus.⁵ According to the learned grammarian L. Aelius Stilo, the master of the still more learned Varro,⁶ Dius Fidius was identical with Sancus, which, according to him, was a Sabine word; he further held that Dius Fidius was a son of Diovis (an old form of Jupiter), and that he was equivalent to the Greek Hercules.⁷ Similarly Festus, who may have drawn on Aelius Stilo, perhaps through Varro, identified Dius Fidius with Sancus,⁸ and affirmed that under both names he was a son of Jove and identical with Hercules.⁹ The identity of Sancus with Hercules was assumed by Propertius,¹⁰ who, however, called him Sanctus. According to one account, Sancus was the first king of the Sabines and was by them exalted to the rank of a god.¹¹ We

¹ Plutarch, *Sulla*, 35.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 319.

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 60. 8.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ix. 60. 8.

⁵ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 49. 2, iv. 58. 4.

⁶ Cicero, *Brutus*, 56. 205; Suetonius, *De grammat.* 3.

⁷ Aelius, quoted by Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 66.

⁸ Festus, *s.v.* "Praebia", p. 276 ed. Lindsay.

⁹ Festus, *s.vv.* "Medius Fidius" and "Propter viam", pp. 133, 254 ed. Lindsay.

¹⁰ Propertius, v. (iv.) 9. 71-74.

¹¹ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 19; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 15.

have the authority of M. Porcius Cato for the statement that Sancus was a Sabine name and a Sabine deity.¹ Silius Italicus represents the Sabines chanting the praises of Sancus, "the author of their race".² The Sabine origin of the god and of his name is indicated by Ovid in his reference to the people of Cures (the Sabine capital) as the authorities for the deity's three names. According to one account, Sancus was the Sabine name for the sky.³ But the god, as we learn from Ovid, had yet a third title, namely Semo. This is vouched for also by Livy, who tells us that in 329 B.C. the goods of the traitor Vitruvius were dedicated to Semo Sangus (*sic*), and that from the produce of the sale bronze rings or discs (*aenei orbes*) were made and deposited in the shrine (*sacellum*) of Semo Sangus, which stood opposite the temple of Quirinus.⁴ Close to the temple of Semo Sancus or Sangus on the Quirinal was a gate, probably of great antiquity, called the Porta Sanqualis, which no doubt took its name from the deity.⁵

Instead of Sancus, the god's name was spelled Sanctus by some ancient writers;⁶ but this seems to have been a mistake. The full title of the deity, formed by the conjunction of *Dius Fidius* with Semo Sancus, occurs in inscriptions found both on the Quirinal, where the god is known to have had a temple, and on the island in the Tiber where he seems to have had another; but in these inscriptions the correct form *Dius* is replaced by the less correct but more familiar form *Deus* ("god"). One of these inscriptions, found on the Quirinal, near the Church of S. Silvestro, runs thus: "*Sanco sancto Semon. deo Fidio sacrum decuria sacerdotum bidentalium*";⁷ that is, "Dedicated to the holy Semo Sancus Deus (*sic*) Fidius by the company of Bidental priests." Thus, to make sure that the god received his full title, the priests called him Sanctus as well as Sancus. Again, an inscription found on the island in the Tiber records

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 49. 2.

² Silius Italicus, viii. 422 *sq.*

³ Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 90, p. 138 ed. Wuensch.

⁴ Livy, viii. 20. 8.

⁵ Festus, *s.v.* "Sanqualis porta", pp. 464, 465 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Propertius, v. (iv.) 8. 7-74; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 19; Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, ii. 9; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 30.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3473; compare No. 3472.

a gift offered to Semo Sancus Deus (*sic*) Fidius by a certain Sextus Pompeius Mussianus, who belonged to the company of Bidental priests.¹ Hence we gather that the worship of Semo Sancus Dius Fidius was cared for by a special company or college of priests who bore the title of Bidental; and as *bidental* was the name given to a place struck by lightning, at which an expiatory sacrifice of two-year-old sheep (*bidentes*) had been offered,² we may infer that the Bidental priests were charged with the duty of offering such expiatory sacrifices. In Christian times the inscription in the island of the Tiber was curiously misunderstood by converts to the new faith, who took Semo Sancus for Simon the Magician and concluded that at Rome he was worshipped as a god or at least as a saint (*Sanctus*).³

The statue of Semo Sancus, which Justin Martyr and Tertullian took for that of Simon the Magician, or at all events a duplicate of it, has been found at Rome together with the inscription which Tertullian or his informant misread. The statue represents a slightly archaic form of Apollo, standing naked; in his left hand, which is broken off, he may have held a thunderbolt, which would be appropriate in a god whose priests appear to have expiated places struck by lightning. The inscription on the base of the statue has already been referred to.⁴

As the epithet Fidius applied to this ancient deity is apparently derived from *fides*, "good faith", it was perfectly natural that he should be invoked in oaths or asseverations to attest the truth of the statement. The invocation was couched in the form *Me Dius Fidius* or *Medius Fidius*, which, compared with the common Roman oath *Mehercule* "by Hercules", may have led to the popular identification

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3474.

² Festus, s.v. "Bidental", p. 30 ed. Lindsay; Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 471; Persius, ii. 27; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 263.

³ Justin Martyr, *Apologia*, i. 26 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vi. 368); Eusebius, *Histor. Eccles.* ii. 13 (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, xx. 168), quoting Justin Martyr; Tertullian, *Apolog.* 13, "*Simonem Magum statua et inscriptione sancti dei inauguratis*"; compare E. Renan, *Les Apôtres* (Paris, 1866), p. 275; *id.*, *L'Église Chrétienne* (Paris, 1879), p. 326.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3472; G. Wissowa, s.v. "Sancus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 318.

of *Dius Fidius* and of *Semo Sancus* with *Hercules*.¹ But like *Mehercule*, the phrase *Me Dius Fidius* or *Medius Fidius* was used in familiar talk or writing to emphasize an assertion, like our "By heaven" or "On my word", without any conscious invocation of a deity. Thus, corresponding with a friend for whose company he longed, Cicero writes: "By heaven (*medius fidius*), I'd rather spend a single day with you than all this time with most of those with whom I am obliged to live;"² and in the strain of fulsome flattery which the younger Pliny habitually addressed to the poetical geese whom he professed to take for swans, that honey-tongued correspondent roundly declares to the writer of some long-forgotten Greek epigrams, "Upon my word (*medius fidius*), I should say that Athens itself is not so Attic as you".³ However, a certain sanctity appears to have attached to the oath "*Me Dius Fidius*", for according to Varro it was a rule of domestic ritual that he who would swear by *Dius Fidius* should go out into the *compluvium*, the unroofed space in the middle of the house, where he could swear under the open sky;⁴ or, as Varro puts it elsewhere, nobody should swear by *Dius Fidius* under a roof, and for that reason the god's temple had a hole in the roof through which the sky could be seen.⁵ If *Dius Fidius* was, as has sometimes been thought, a Sky-god who wielded the lightning, it was very natural that those who took his name on their lips should do so in the open air, where the deity could see them and smite them to the ground with his thunderbolt if they took his name in vain; whereas the interposition of a roof, by intercepting the view of the deity, would have furnished a ready screen for perjury. So, according to Plutarch, boys who swore by *Hercules* had to take the oath in the open air and not under a roof;⁶ but perhaps Plutarch here confounds *Dius Fidius* with *Hercules*. However, in the same passage he informs us that oaths by *Dionysus* were not taken under a roof. In Java and other East Indian islands it is, or used to be, customary to take

¹ Festus, s.v. "*Medius Fidius*", p. 133 ed. Lindsay; Tertullian, *De idolatria*, 20.

² Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, v. 21. 1.

³ Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 3. 5.

⁴ Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, s.v. "*Rituis*", p. 793 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 66.

⁶ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 27.

oaths by heaven and earth under the open sky and not under a roof; the Malays of the Padang inland districts in Sumatra have more confidence in an oath sworn under the open sky than in one sworn under a roof.¹

An interesting monument of *Dius Fidius* or *Semo Sancus* as god of oaths was kept in his temple down at least to the beginning of our era. This was the treaty made with the people of *Gabii* by *Tarquin the Proud* when he captured their town. The treaty was sworn over an ox slain in sacrifice, and the terms of the treaty were inscribed in archaic letters on the skin of the victim. The skin was then stretched on a wooden shield which was deposited in the god's temple, where *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, who describes it,² may have seen it. The dedication of the goods of the traitor *Vitruvius* to *Semo Sancus*³ may have been intended to guard against the like treachery in future by placing the property of the traitor under the care of the God of Good Faith, for the deity might be thought thereby to obtain a magical control over all sinners who meditated treason. Another curious monument kept in the temple of *Sancus* was a bronze statue of a woman, which was said to represent *Gaia Caecilia*, the wife of *Tarquinius Priscus*. In the girdle of the statue there were certain amulets of a special sort called *præbia*, and persons in danger used to go to the statue, scrape these amulets, and keep the scrapings as a talisman which would protect them against the peril they apprehended.⁴ Similar amulets (*præbia*) were worn by Roman boys on their necks.⁵

No remains of the temple of *Sancus* on the *Quirinal* have been discovered, but the edifice seems to have been situated at or near the place now occupied by the monastery of *S. Silvestro*. For about 1580 a large basis of travertine, inscribed with the dedication to *Semo Sancus Dius Fidius* by his *Bidental* priests,⁶ was found in the garden of the

¹ R. Lasch, *Der Eid* (Stuttgart, 1908), pp. 30 sq., 32.

² *Dionysius Halicarnasensis, Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 58. 4.

³ See above, p. 159.

⁴ *Festus, s.v. "Præbia"*, p. 276 ed. Lindsay; compare *Pliny, Nat. Hist.* viii. 194; *Plutarch, Quæst. Rom.* 30.

⁵ *Varro, De lingua Latina*, vii. 107.

⁶ *H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3473. See above, p. 159.

monastery, and in 1887, when the National Theatre was building, some leaden pipes, inscribed with the name of the same priesthood, were discovered a little down the slope from S. Silvestro. Accordingly we may suppose that the temple of Sancus stood somewhere between S. Silvestro and the edge of the hill, and that the Bidental priests had their quarters close to the shrine of the god whom they served.¹ There was also a temple of Sancus (Sangus) at Velitrae in Latium,² and from an inscription found near Rome on the Appian Way we learn of a shrine (*sacellum*) built for Semo Sancus by a certain Phileros at his own expense.³

On the famous bronze tablets, bearing a long inscription in the Umbrian dialect, which were discovered at Gubbio (the ancient Iguvium) in A.D. 1444, there is mention of a god Fisos Sansios or Fisouios Sansios, who is probably no other than Fidius Sancus in a dialectically different form. He appears to have been worshipped on a hill called Fisui after him, and to have received a sacrifice of three sucking-pigs.⁴ Further, the officiating priest was directed to have in his hand an *urfeta*, probably equivalent to *orbita*, either a ring or disc⁵ which may have been identical in shape and purpose with the bronze rings (*orbes*) dedicated in the temple of Semo Sancus at Rome.⁶

Since Dius Fidius appears to have been essentially the

¹ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 401 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 487.

² Livy, xxxii. 1. 10.

³ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3475.

⁴ M. Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines* (Paris, 1875), pp. xl-xliii; Fr. Buecheler, *Umbria* (Bonn, 1883), pp. 17 sq., 65-69; C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (Boston, U.S.A., 1904), pp. 270, 271, 289.

⁵ Tablet ii. b. 23; Bréal, *op. cit.* pp. lx, lxi, 271 sq.; Fr. Buecheler, *Umbria*, pp. 7, 148; C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 297.

⁶ See above, p. 159. As to Dius Fidius or Semo Sancus see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, ii. 270-275; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 135-145; G. Wissowa, s.v. "Sancus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 316-319; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 118, 129-131; Aust, s.v. "Dius Fidius", in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 1. coll. 1246 sq.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 724-726. Mr. Cook holds, like Wissowa, that "Dius Fidius was a specialised form of Jupiter, the sky-god by whom men swore"; but he proposes to derive *Fidius* from *findere*, "to cleave", so that the epithet would mean "Cleaver", with reference to perjurers cleft by the god's thunderbolt.

god of Good Faith (*fides*), and his name *Dius* is in all probability connected etymologically with the names *Djovis* and *Jupiter*, as the ancients themselves perceived,¹ *Wissowa* may very well be right in holding that he was simply a specialized form of *Jupiter*; in other words, we may suppose that people originally swore by the Sky-god *Dius* or *Djovis* under the special title of *Fidius* to denote the particular aspect or character under which they invoked him as the Guardian of Good Faith and the Avenger of Perjury, but that in time, through distinguishing him by this epithet, they gradually came to look upon him as a distinct and independent deity, with the result that a new god was added to the pantheon. We have seen ² that similarly, when *Augustus* built a temple of Thundering *Jupiter* on the Capitol, there appears to have been a tendency in the popular mind to regard the Thunderer as a separate god, distinct from the original Capitoline *Jupiter* and possibly superseding him in the business of hurling the lightning and rolling the thunder. Thus we seem bound to recognize a process of multiplying gods by creating special deities for the discharge of special functions which had previously been performed by a single god of all work. In fact, as men create gods in their own likeness, it is natural that they should apply to their deities that principle of the division of labour which they find so fruitful of good in human society, and that they should accordingly oblige the divine puppets to march abreast of their worshippers on the road of progress. No people, perhaps, ever carried this principle of the specialization of functions further than the Romans; and if only they had had time to apply it consistently to their chief god *Jupiter*, they might have ended by stripping him of his multifarious duties and entrusting them to a number of deputy-deities, who, we cannot doubt, would have discharged them quite as efficiently. Thus, gradually retiring from the active control of affairs in this sublunary sphere, *Jupiter* might at last have become little more than a sleeping partner in the divine firm, whose august name might still be read on the golden plate of the celestial door, and whose existence everybody acknowledged in theory, though nobody troubled

¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 66; Festus, s.vv. "Dium" and "Medius Fidius", pp. 65, 133 ed. Lindsay.

² Above, pp. 133 sq.

about him in practice. To this state of dignified and somnolent repose the great Sky-god has in fact been reduced almost all over Africa at the present day.¹

But *Dius Fidius* was not the only rival whom Jupiter had to fear in the important business of maintaining a respect for good faith among men. With their habitual propensity to clothe abstractions in human form the Romans personified the idea of Good Faith (*Fides*) as a goddess and built a temple to her on the Capitol under the very eye of Jupiter.² The antiquity of her worship is attested by the tradition that Numa founded a sanctuary and instituted public sacrifices in her honour,³ and it was confirmed by the archaic form of her ritual; for the flamens drove to her chapel (*sacrarium*) in a chariot of a prescribed shape drawn by two horses, and in sacrificing to her their hands had to be wrapt in a white cloth to the finger-tips.⁴ Similarly, in the Iguvian ritual it is directed that when the priest prays to *Fisos Sansios* (the Umbrian equivalent of *Dius Fidius* and *Fides*) he should have a napkin of a peculiar sort (*mandraclo difue*) in his right hand.⁵

Lastly, with regard to the name *Semo*, it is apparently the singular form of a noun which occurs in the plural form *semunis* in the Song of the *Salii*.⁶ *Martianus Capella* describes the *Semones* as demigods, apparently deriving the name from *semi*, "half", and *homo*, "man".⁷ "*Semo*, there can be little doubt, is for *se homo*, something beside, more than, a man (just as *nemo* is for *ne homo*), and has no connection with *semen*."⁸ Others reject these etymologies and are content to regard the *Semones* as a class of divinities about which we know nothing.⁹

¹ *The Worship of Nature*, vol. i. chapter v. "The Worship of the Sky in Africa", pp. 89-315. ² Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 23. 61.

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit Rom.* ii. 75. 3.

⁴ Livy, i. 21. 4; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292, viii. 636.

⁵ M. Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines*, pp. xl-xli, 116-117; Fr. Buecheler, *Umblica*, pp. 17, 65; C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 270.

⁶ J. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin* (Oxford, 1874), p. 158; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5039.

⁷ *Martianus Capella*, ii. 156.

⁸ J. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, p. 394.

⁹ H. Jordan, in L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, i. 90 note 3; Otto, s.v. "*Semones*", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iv. 707; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultur der Römer*, p. 130 note 2.

VI. 219. **I have a daughter.**—Elsewhere Ovid tells us that his daughter was twice married and had borne two children while she was still in early youth.¹ She was absent in Africa at the time of her father's banishment.²

VI. 225. **the first part of this month was found to be unsuitable for marriage.**—Ovid here explains, on the high authority of the Flaminica Dialis, that the first half of the month, from June 1 to 15, when the sweepings of the temple of Vesta were cast into the Tiber,³ was an unlucky time for marriage. Why it was deemed so, we cannot tell; but it is to be observed that, as the whole of May was in like manner banned,⁴ the period of more than six weeks, from May 1 to June 15, was apparently observed as a close time, so to say, for the contraction of marriage. Other days thought to be unlucky for the same purpose, were February 18 to 21, when the festival of the dead was celebrated,⁵ and again March 1, when the dancing priests of Mars (the Salii) were going about the streets.⁶ On that day, as from June 1 to 15, it was not lawful for the Flaminica to comb her hair.⁷

VI. 229. **it is not lawful for me to clip my hair or comb it with a comb.**—Sacred persons, such as priests and kings, are often forbidden to cut their hair either so long as they live or so long as their sanctity lasts. The vow of the Nazarite imposed this taboo on the devotee.⁸ The rule not to comb the hair is often observed among savages by persons in a state of taboo; not infrequently such persons are forbidden to put their hands to their heads.⁹

VI. 230. **it is not lawful for me to . . . cut my nails with iron.**—Ovid probably means that during these days the Flaminica was absolutely forbidden to cut her nails with any instrument; he adds "with iron" (*ferro*), perhaps only to fill up the verse. It was an old Greek precept not to cut the nails "at a banquet of the gods", that is, at a

¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 75 sq.

² Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 3. 19. sq.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 713 sq.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 489 sq.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 533-570.

⁶ *Fasti*, iii. 393-398, with the note.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 397 sq.

⁸ Numbers vi. 5. For more examples see *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 258 sqq.

⁹ *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 159 note, 181, 187, 203, 208.

sacrificial feast.¹ It was a maxim attributed to Pythagoras that you should not cut your nails at a sacrifice.² The prohibition to cut the nails, like that of cutting and combing the hair, is observed by persons in a state of taboo in various parts of the world. Thus among the Baganda of Central Africa the birth of twins was a very solemn event, which entailed on the parents the performance of certain rites and ceremonies. Until these were over, the father and mother of the twins were sacred or tabooed, and, like the Flaminica Dialis at certain times, they might neither cut their hair nor clip their nails. At the conclusion of the rites their bodies were completely shaved and their nails cut; after which the shorn hair and the clippings of the nails were collected and tied up into a ball in a piece of barkcloth; thus they were kept till the next time that the father of the twins went to war. When that happened, he took the bundle of hair and nails with him, and no sooner had he killed a foe in battle than he was bound to cram the bundle into the dead man's mouth or to tie it about his neck.³ This custom appears to indicate that the hair and nails of a tabooed or sacred person are thought to be infected by a dangerous virus, which, on emerging from the state of taboo, the person seeks to transfer to an enemy. The cut hair and nails of the Flamen Dialis were buried under a lucky tree,⁴ no doubt to protect them from harm, and perhaps in particular to prevent sorcerers from getting possession of them and working enchantments by their means on the sacred person of the priest. For a similar reason, we may suppose, the shorn tresses of the Vestals were hung on an ancient lotus-tree which grew in the grove of Lucina.⁵ The hair of the Flamen Dialis was cut with a bronze knife, a rule which, as the ancients themselves perceived, probably dated from the Bronze Age.⁶ We may

¹ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 741 sq.; compare Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 4.

² Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* xxviii. 154; *id.*, *Adhortatio*, 21, p. 314 ed. Kiessling; *Philosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. F. G. A. Mullachius, i. 506. Compare Fr. Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis*, pp. 49 sqq.

³ J. Roscoe, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 32-35, 38, 80; *id.*, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 64-72.

⁴ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 15.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 235; Festus, s.v. "Capillatam", p. 50 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 448.

conjecture that knives of the same metal were used to cut his nails and the hair and nails of his wife the Flaminica. To take another instance of these taboos, in Mirzapur, when the seed of the silkworm has been brought into the house, and the worms are hatching, the owner must be careful to avoid ceremonial impurity. He must give up cohabitation with his wife; he may not sleep on a bed, nor shave himself, nor cut his nails, nor anoint himself with oil, nor do anything else that in the circumstances would be deemed improper.¹

VI. 232. *though he was given to me for life.*—The marriage of the Flamen Dialis with his wife the Flaminica could only be dissolved by death; more than that, when his wife died, the Flamen was obliged to vacate his office.²

VI. 235. *On the third morn after the Nones it is said that Phoebe chases away (the grandson of) Lycaon.*—This is a poetical way of saying that on the seventh day of the month Arcturus sets in the morning. As the Nones of June fell on the fifth day of the month, it follows that, on the inclusive mode of reckoning adopted by the Romans, "the third morn after the Nones" was the seventh of June. By Phoebe the poet here, as elsewhere,³ means the moon, and he speaks of "the third Phoebe" (*tertia Phoebe*) in the sense of the third day in accordance with the usage of Latin, in which *luna* ("moon"), qualified by an ordinal number, regularly signifies a certain day of the month, not a certain month of the year. Thus in Latin prose the third day of the month is *tertia luna*, literally "the third moon"; for the Romans counted the days of the month by moons, as if there were as many different moons as there were days of the month. Arcturus or the Bear-ward was identified with Arcas, who was a grandson of Lycaon, being a son of Lycaon's daughter Callisto. Here, by a poetical licence, Ovid names the grand-

¹ W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 257; *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 193 sq.

² Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 22; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 50; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 29; Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis*, 13; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.³ 328 note³. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 227-248, "The Widowed Flamen".

³ Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 11, "*nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phoebe*"; Lucan, i. 77-79, "*fratri contraria Phoebe ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem | indignata diem poscat sibi*".

father Lycaon instead of the grandson Arcas. The constellation was also known as Arctophylax, the Bear-ward, and Bootes.¹ The poet has already twice mentioned the morning setting of the constellation, once under date March 5² and once under date May 26.³ "As Bootes seems to stand still on the western horizon, and consequently takes a long time to complete its setting (whence the epithet *piger*, 'slug-gish', bestowed on it in *Fasti*, iii. 405), it is not to be wondered at that the poet should mention its setting thrice in a space of three months."⁴ Columella also mentions the morning setting of Arcturus (Bootes) on two different dates, once on May 22 and 23⁵ and once, like Ovid, on June 7.⁶ In fact, the true morning setting of Arcturus fell on May 28 and the apparent morning setting on June 10. Hence the statements of Columella in the second passage and of Ovid in the present passage are approximately correct for the apparent morning setting of the constellation.⁷

VI. 237. I remember that I saw games held on the sward of the Field of Mars, and that they were named thine, O smooth Tiber. —On these games Festus has a curious note: "Fishermen's games, as they are called, are held annually in the month of June on the farther side of the Tiber; they are celebrated by the City Praetor on behalf of the fishermen of the Tiber, whose catch is not taken to the market but to the Area of Vulcan, because that sort of live fish is given to that god as a substitute for human souls."⁸ The Area of Vulcan was a large open space at the foot of the slope of the Capitol on the side of the Forum. It was one of the most ancient religious centres of Rome, but never contained a temple of Vulcan, only an altar or shrine (*sacellum*) of the deity. The temple of Concord was built on part of the Area.⁹ The vicinity of the Area of Vulcan to

¹ See Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 153, iii. 405, 733, with the notes.

² *Fasti*, iii. 403-406.

³ *Fasti*, v. 733.

⁴ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," pp. 141 sq.

⁵ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 43.

⁶ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 45.

⁷ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 140-142.

⁸ Festus, s.v. "Piscatori ludi", pp. 274, 276 ed. Lindsay.

⁹ O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², p. 78; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2. pp. 339 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 173 sq.; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman*

the temple of Concord is indicated by Julius Obsequens, who reports that in 183 and 181 B.C. blood rained both on the Arca and on the temple.¹ Apparently the fish were offered to Vulcan by being thrown alive into the fire; for Varro tells us that at the festival of Vulcan (the Volcanalia on August 23) people threw animals into the fire as substitutes for themselves ("pro se").² The sacrifice was seemingly a sort of fire insurance; the conflagrations which often raged in Rome were doubtless ascribed to the wrath of the fire-god Vulcan, and people thought to ransom their own lives from the fire by throwing live animals or fish into it. But why fish should be specially selected for the purpose it is difficult to see. Possibly there was a vague notion that their watery nature would help to extinguish the dreaded conflagrations. Yet if, as we gather from Ovid, the day on which the fish were caught was a festival of Tiber, we cannot but think that the river-god must have resented the use made of his creatures on his holy day. In any case the employment of substitutes to save people from the danger of fire furnishes a parallel to the Argei interpreted as substitutes to save people from the danger of water.³

The worship of the Tiber (Tiberinus) is said to have been instituted by Romulus;⁴ certainly it would seem to have been very ancient at Rome, since the river-god was mentioned in the litany of the pontiffs⁵ and in the prayers of the augurs.⁶ Yet the notices and monuments of the worship which have come down to us are few and far between. An inscription, found near the river, records that a certain Sex. Atusius was the first man to dedicate to the Tiber (Tiberinus) an altar which he had vowed while he was on military service (*caligatus*).⁷ Another inscription, found near the Tiber at Rome, records a dedication to Tiber (Tiberinus), "the father of all waters", by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian on

Forum, translated by J. B. Carter², pp. 82-84; H. Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain*³, pp. 69-71, 231-233. As to the temple of Concord see *Fasti*, i. 639, with the note.

¹ Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 4 (59) and 6, p. 152 ed. Roszbach.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 20.

³ See *Fasti*, v. 621, with the note.

⁴ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 23, vi. 10.

⁵ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 330.

⁶ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 20. 52.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 2152.

the occasion of their completing the cleansing and repair of the aqueducts. And oddly enough in this dedication the Emperors coupled with the Tiber "the men of old, the inventors of admirable engineering works" ("*repertoribus admirabilium fabricarum priscis viris*").¹ The god appears to have had a sanctuary on the island in the Tiber, for the date of its dedication (December 8) is recorded in the Amiter-nine calendar.² It is to be observed that while, according to Ovid, the fishermen's games in honour of the Tiber were held in the Field of Mars, according to Festus they were held on the farther side of the river.³ Perhaps the god's sanctuary in the island, situated half-way between the two banks, may have been the central point of the celebration.⁴

VI. 241. a sanctuary was vowed to Mind.—After the terrible defeat which Hannibal inflicted on the Romans in 217 B.C. at the Trasimene lake, the Sibylline books were consulted by the Ten Men who were charged with the duty of keeping and consulting the sacred volumes. On this occasion an oracle was produced directing that temples should be vowed to Venus of Eryx and to Mind (*Mens*). The temples were vowed accordingly in the same year,⁵ and dedicated in 215 B.C.; both temples stood on the Capitol, separated from each other only by a conduit.⁶ Cicero mentions the temple of Mind on the Capitol in a passage where he has collected examples of abstract ideas that were personified and deified by the Romans, such as Good Faith, Virtue, Honour, Health or Safety (*Salus*), Concord, Liberty, Victory, and Pleasure.⁷ The temple of Mind is mentioned also by Plutarch, who says that it was founded by Aemilius Scaurus about the time of the Cimbric war.⁸ Cicero similarly ascribes the dedication of the temple to M. Aemilius Scaurus, who was consul in 115 B.C.⁹

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 626.

² *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 245, 336, "*Tiberino in insula*".

³ Festus, *s.v.* "*Piscatori ludi*", p. 274 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ As to the worship of the Tiber and other rivers in Roman religion see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 224 sq.; *id.*, *s.v.* "*Tiberinus*", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, v. 932-935.

⁵ Livy, xxii. 9. 9 sq., xxii. 10. 10.

⁶ Livy, xxiii. 31. 9.

⁷ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 23. 61, compare *id.* iii. 18. 47, *De legibus*, ii. 11. 28; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 20.

⁸ Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 5.

⁹ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 23. 61.

Perhaps the temple was repaired by Scaurus in or about that year, a century after its original dedication. From the entries in several ancient calendars, including the Venusian and Maffeian, we learn that the temple on the Capitol was dedicated on the eighth of June, which confirms the evidence of Ovid on this point (lines 247-248).¹ Conceived as a goddess, Mind was often qualified by the epithet Good: dedications to the Good Mind (*Mens Bona*) have been discovered in various parts of Italy;² one such dedication has been found at Lyons.³ The poet Propertius, on finally breaking with his old love Cynthia, professed to dedicate himself to the goddess Good Mind, not without insinuating a doubt of her real divinity.⁴

VI. 249. *O Vesta, grant me thy favour!*—A festival of Vesta (the Vestalia) is marked on June 9 in several ancient calendars, including the Tusculan, Venusian, and Maffeian, and the calendar of Philocalus.⁵ That the festival fell on June 9 is affirmed also by Joannes Lydus.⁶ The festival is mentioned under its proper name of Vestalia by Ovid,⁷ Varro,⁸ and Festus.⁹ About the public rites celebrated on the day we know extremely little; but from Festus we learn that "on certain days, about the time of the Vestalia", the storehouse (*penus*), an inner place screened off by mats in the temple of Vesta, was opened, and further that the days during which the storehouse in the temple stood open were accounted "religious", that is, they were days on which it was deemed unlawful (*nefas*) to do anything but what was absolutely necessary.¹⁰ According to Gellius "religious" days were days of evil omen, unfit for the performance of

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 224, 319.

² H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3817-3821.

³ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 1152.

⁴ Propertius, iv. (iii.) 24. 19, "*Mens Bona, si qua dea es, tua me in sacra dona*". Compare G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 313-315; R. Peter, s.v. "Mens", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2798-2800.

⁵ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 216, 221, 224, 266, 319.

⁶ Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 94, p. 138 ed. Wuensch.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 395.

⁸ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 17.

⁹ Festus, s.v. "Penus", p. 296 ed. Lindsay.

¹⁰ Festus, s.v. "Penus", p. 296 ed. Lindsay: "<Penus> vocatur locus intimus in aede Vestae tegetibus saeptus, qui certis diebus circa Vestalia aperitur. i dies religiosi habentur"; and as to the meaning of "religious days" see Festus, s.v. "Religiosus", p. 348 ed. Lindsay, "*Dies autem religiosi, quibus, nisi, quod necesse est, nefas habetur facere*".

divine service or for embarking on any new enterprise ; the ignorant multitude confounded them with days that were simply unlawful (*nefasti*).¹ "The days about the time of the Vestalia" during which the storehouse of Vesta stood open appear to have been from June 7 to June 15. This we learn from two entries in the calendar of Philocalus : under June 7 we read VESTA APERIT, "Vesta opens", and under June 15 VESTA CLVDITVR, "Vesta closes".² But even on these days the sacred storehouse was only open to women, for men were forbidden to enter the temple of Vesta.³ Indeed, the storehouse itself was divided, probably by mats, into an inner and an outer compartment,⁴ and we may conjecture that it was only the outer compartment of the storeroom which was opened to women on these days. In this outer compartment was kept the water which the Vestals used in sacrifices. The water had to be drawn from a natural source, whether spring or running stream ; water laid on by pipes from an aqueduct might not be used in the service of Vesta. And mixed with the spring water was salt prepared from brine in a peculiar way. The brine was brayed in a mortar, then put in an earthenware pot, which was next covered up and placed in an oven, where it remained till the salt was baked into a cake. This cake the Vestals took from the pot, cut it up with an iron saw, and mixed pieces of it with the spring water. The water thus salted was kept ready for use in a vessel in the outer compartment of the sacred storehouse.⁵

Strictly speaking, the water used by the Vestals in sacrifice should have been fetched by them daily from a spring which gushed from a dark cave in a sacred grove outside the Capene Gate. The spot was sanctified by the tradition that there the saintly King Numa used to meet his divine spouse Egeria by night and receive from her lips the laws which he gave to his people.⁶ But in Ovid's time this good old custom had probably fallen into disuse. Certainly a hundred years later Juvenal drew a melancholy picture of the state of neglect and desecration into which the once hallowed spot

¹ Aulus Gellius, iv. 9. 5.

² *C.I.L.* i. 2 p. 266.

³ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* iii. 20 ; see also Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 449 sqq.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Muries", p. 152 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Muries", pp. 152, 153 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Plutarch, *Numa*, 13 ; Livy, i. 21. 3.

had sunk in his time. The whole place was let out to poor Jews, who camped there with their baskets and trusses of hay among such trees as survived, while the rocky pool, into which the babbling spring tumbled from the cave, was enclosed by a stiff marble kerb instead of the green sward which had once fringed the sacred water.¹ It was not to be expected that the Vestals, high-born Roman ladies, should dip their pitchers in water profaned by the use of needy Oriental vagabonds, the offscourings of the lowest dens and rookeries in the neighbouring city. And it was all the less likely that they should soil their dainty limbs by such contact because ancient usage required that the water fetched from the spring for the sacrifices should be carried in earthenware vessels of a particular sort, so constructed, with broad tops and narrow bottoms, that they could not be set down on the ground without spilling the water. The reason for this peculiar shape of vessel was that to bring the holy water into contact with the earth would have been sacrilege.² The rule that holy things and holy persons may not touch the ground is a common one in the ritual of many peoples.³ We may conjecture that for many ages the Vestals drew the water which they needed both for sacred and for domestic purposes from the holy spring of Juturna which adjoined their house on the west.⁴

Ovid has described how at the festival of the Vestalia he saw a matron coming down barefooted in the direction of the Forum.⁵ Perhaps we may infer that the lady was going to visit the storehouse of Vesta then open to women; if the inference is correct, it seems to follow that permission to enter the temple of Vesta at this season was confined to married women, and that they were expected to show their respect for the holy place by putting off their shoes before they entered it.

At the festival of the Vestalia the Vestal Virgins offered

¹ Juvenal, iii. 10-20.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 339; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* viii. 297.

³ *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 2 *sqq.*

⁴ Esther Boise van Deman, *The Atrium Vestae* (Washington, D.C., 1909), p. 44.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 395 *sqq.*

a cake or meal (*mola*) of spelt which had been prepared in a special way. From the Nones of May to the day before the Ides, that is, from the seventh to the fourteenth of May, the three senior Vestal Virgins gathered on alternate days (probably on the odd days, omitting the even days as unlucky) ears of spelt, which they deposited in baskets such as were employed by reapers. These ears the Virgins with their own hands roasted, pounded, and ground, and having done so they laid the grist up in store. From the grist thus prepared they, at the festival of the Vestalia on June 9, made a sacrificial cake or meal (*mola*), mixing or sprinkling it with the salt which had also been prepared in a special way.¹ This cake or meal they presumably offered to Vesta in her temple, though we are not expressly told that they did so. A similar cake or meal was similarly prepared, and no doubt offered, by them from the specially prepared spelt and salt on the Ides (the 13th) of September and at the Lupercalia on February 15.² From being mixed or sprinkled with salt the cake or meal was called *mola salsa*.³ From the definitions quoted below it appears doubtful whether the spelt, after being ground and roasted, was baked into a cake or kept loose in the form of meal; on the whole the language of Festus favours the latter interpretation, and there is nothing in the language of Servius inconsistent with it, for he does not say that the Vestals baked (*coquant*) the *mola* but only that they made it (*faciunt*).⁴ The expressions of Virgil also seem to imply that the spelt was in loose grains rather than baked into a cake.⁵ In any case the salt would seem to have been sprinkled loosely on it rather than kneaded into dough. That the spelt and the salt were separate from each other is plainly implied by Horace in his mention of a

¹ See above, p. 173.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82; and as to the preparation of the sacrificial cake or meal (*mola*) see Festus, s.v. "Mola", pp. 124, 125 ed. Lindsay, "*Mola etiam vocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae asperguntur*"; *id.*, s.v. "Immolare", p. 97 ed. Lindsay, "*Immolare est mola, id est farre molito et sale, hostiam perspersam sacrare*".

³ Festus, s.v. "Ador", p. 3 ed. Lindsay, "*Ador farris genus, odor quondam appellatum ab edendo, vel quod aduratur, ut fiat tostum, unde in sacrificio mola salsa efficitur*".

⁴ Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82, "*Ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt*".

⁵ Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82, "*Sparge molam*"; *id.*, *Aen.* ii. 133, "*Salsae fruges*".

sacrifice to the Penates.¹ The sacrificial cake or meal was also called "chaste" (*casta*), that is, pure or holy,² and we are definitely told that under this name it was used in sacrifice by the Vestals.³ The view that the *mola salsa* was meal or groats of spelt mixed with salt rather than a cake of spelt baked with salt was adopted by W. Ramsay,⁴ J. Marquardt,⁵ and G. Wissowa,⁶ and on the whole it seems more consonant with the ancient evidence.

The day on which these offerings of meal, or groats, or cakes were made to Vesta was naturally a holiday or festival of bakers and millers, as Ovid implies by telling us that at the Vestalia both the millstones and the asses which turned them were crowned with garlands.⁷ So, too, Joannes Lydus tells us that on June 9 "the bakers used to keep holiday because the ancients made bread in the sanctuaries of Vesta; and asses crowned with garlands led the procession, because asses ground the corn".⁸ These popular festivities are depicted in a Pompeian wall-painting, which represents asses wreathed with garlands by Cupids and a mill standing idle in the background.⁹

VI. 257. Rome had forty times celebrated the Parilia when the goddess, guardian of fire, was received in her temple.—The Guardian of Fire is Vesta, in whose temple a perpetual fire was maintained. So, in the prayer with which he concludes his work, the historian Velleius Paterculus addresses her as "Vesta, Guardian of the Perpetual Fires".¹⁰ The temple of Vesta, the most ancient temple of Rome, stood in the valley to the north of the Palatine Hill. Together with the adjoining Atrium Vestae or House of the Vestals, and the Regia or King's House, it occupied a space of ground between the Sacred Way (*Sacra Via*) on the north and the

¹ Horace, *Odes*, iii. 23. 20, "*farre pio et saliente mica*".

² Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 82.

³ Festus, s.v. "Casta mola", p. 57 ed. Lindsay, "*Casta mola genus sacrificii, quod Vestales virgines faciebant*".

⁴ W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, p. 342.

⁵ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 343.

⁶ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 35, 159, 411.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 311-318.

⁸ Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 94, p. 138 ed. Wuensch.

⁹ G. Wissowa, s.v. "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 255 sqq.

¹⁰ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 131, "*Perpetuorumque custos Vesta ignium*".

to the Forum (Nova Via) on the south. Of these two roads, the Sacred Way led westward by the Forum, while the New Way skirted the foot of the Palatine Hill. To the west were the spring of Juturna and the temple of Castor and Pollux. This situation of the temple of Vesta, the Atrium Vestae, and the Regia is indicated clearly enough by the testimony of ancient writers.¹ If any doubts could have been entertained as to the situation of these venerable edifices, they were finally set at rest by excavations conducted in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, beginning in 1874, which revealed substantial remains of all three buildings just where they might have been expected.

Of the temple of Vesta there exists the circular platform of concrete, 46 feet in diameter, on which the temple stood, together with foundations of steps and marble fragments of columns, entablature, and coffered ceiling in sufficient quantity to allow us to reconstruct the temple with a fair degree of probability. But these marble fragments are no part of the original building. The temple was repeatedly destroyed by fire, for the Goddess of Fire proved powerless to protect her own shrine from conflagration; and it was restored for the last time by the Emperor Severus in the third century A.D. To that restoration the existing architectural fragments belong. To judge by them, the temple stood on a platform constructed of blocks of tufa and concrete some ten feet high: it was a circular edifice surrounded by a colonnade of twenty Corinthian columns: the spaces between the columns were filled by metal screens fitting on to a projecting band or fillet. The frieze was decorated with sculptures representing ox-skulls and various sacrificial implements. The ceiling of the circular colonnade was adorned with rosettes in sunken panels or coffers. But the workmanship of the architectural fragments is poor, and the sculptured decorations are coarse, like all the remains of buildings so late as the reign of Severus. The temple was approached by a staircase, the remains of which belong

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 101; Livy, v. 32. 6; Horace, *Sat.* i. 9. 1 and 35; Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 27-30; Martial, i. 70. 3-7; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 363; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 66. 1. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 292 sqq.

to a much earlier period; together with the platform (*podium*) of concrete they may possibly have formed part of the original building. The entrance door faced due east. In the concrete core of the foundations has been found a trapezoidal pit (the so-called *favissa*), about sixteen feet deep, which may have served to store temporarily the ashes and other rubbish, which might lawfully be removed from the temple only once a year, on the fifteenth of June.¹

The remains of the temple on the whole confirm the descriptions of ancient writers and the representations of it on the monuments. That the temple was circular is affirmed by Ovid,² Festus,³ and Plutarch.⁴ On coins of the Gens Cassia, dating from about 60 B.C., the temple is represented as a circular edifice surrounded by a colonnade and surmounted by a conical roof.⁵ On a marble relief, which was formerly preserved in the Villa Negroni but has now disappeared, there is given a partial view of a temple answering closely to the temple of Vesta as reconstructed from the existing remains. It is a small round edifice standing on a high platform and approached by a flight of steps; it is surrounded by columns of the Corinthian order with lattice work between them; the roof is conical and covered with tiles.⁶ Another fine relief, now in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, gives a more complete view of the temple as a circular edifice, with a staircase leading up to it, Corinthian columns with lattice-work between them, a conical roof, and an oak-tree growing beside it.⁷

¹ H. Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 3 sqq.; *id.*, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2 pp. 292 sqq., 420 sqq.; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 297 sq.; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 223-226; G. Boni, in *Notizie degli Scavi per l'anno 1900*, pp. 159-191; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 88 sq.; Ch. Huelsen, *Ausgrabungen auf dem Forum Romanum, 1898-1902* (Rome, 1903), pp. 88 sqq.; *id.*, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter³, pp. 197 sqq.; W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 51 sqq.; H. Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain*⁴, pp. 84-91, 312-315; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*⁵, pp. 200-204.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 265-282.

³ Festus, s.v. "Rutundam aedem", p. 320 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Plutarch, *Numa*, 11. 1.

⁵ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 329-331.

⁶ W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten*, pp. 51-57, with fig. 14, on p. 52.

⁷ Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter³, p. 198, fig. 116.

The temple of Vesta was commonly said to have been founded by the pious King Numa.¹ This view was accepted by Ovid, who even assigns the very year of its foundation, telling us that it was built forty years after the foundation of Rome, or, as he puts it, when Rome had forty times celebrated the festival of the Parilia, the annual festival which was supposed to commemorate the foundation of the city by Romulus.² As Rome was traditionally said to have been founded in 753 B.C., it will follow that, according to Ovid, the temple of Vesta was built in 713 B.C., in the reign of Numa. Others, however, held that the temple was built by Romulus.³ They argued that a temple of Vesta, as the Common Hearth of the citizens, was indispensable to every city and could not have been omitted by an experienced founder, least of all by a founder like Romulus, who came from Alba Longa, where Vesta had been worshipped for ages before Rome was built, and where his own mother Silvia had been a Vestal Virgin. In reply to these arguments Dionysius wisely did not deny, he even maintained, that Vesta had been worshipped at many hearths before the reign of Numa; but on the other hand he pointed out that the temple of Vesta at the foot of the Palatine lay outside the city of Romulus, which occupied the summit of the hill, and he rightly regarded it as highly improbable that the Common Hearth of the city, which usually and naturally stood in the very heart of the city, should ever have been built outside its walls.⁴ The argument is sound, and accordingly we may agree with Dionysius that, if Rome was originally confined to the summit of the Palatine, the temple of Vesta, in spite of its great and undoubted antiquity, can have formed no part of the most ancient city. But to say this is not, as Dionysius rightly perceived, to deny that the worship of Vesta may have been, and probably was, a great deal older than the foundation of her temple at the foot of the Palatine.

¹ Festus, *s.v.* "Rutundam aedem", p. 320 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 64 and 66; Plutarch, *Numa*, 11. 1; Florus, i. 2. 3; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 3. 1.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 721 *sqq.*

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 65; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 22. 1.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 65.

The old temple was burnt in 241 B.C.¹ In the year 210 B.C. it nearly perished in a great conflagration which consumed the Regia; the temple was only saved by the devoted exertions of some slaves, who were afterwards purchased by the State and given their freedom as a reward for their services.² The great fire which raged in Rome under Nero in 64 B.C. burned to the ground both the Regia and the temple of Vesta, together with the Penates of the Roman people.³ Lastly, in another great fire, which broke out in the last year of the reign of Commodus (A.D. 191), the temple of Vesta was again destroyed; but the Vestals contrived to save the Palladium, which they carried openly along the Sacred Way to the house of the Sacrificial King; the historian who records the rescue remarks that this was the first time that the sacred image had ever been exposed to the public gaze since the time when it was brought from Troy to Italy.⁴ It was after this conflagration that the temple was finally restored by Severus in the form to which the existing architectural fragments belong.

When Augustus was elected Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C., he should in strictness have taken up his quarters in the Regia, the residence officially attached to his office,⁵ which adjoined the temple of Vesta. But this would have obliged him to exchange his high, airy, and sunny abode on the top of the Palatine Hill for a house in a low, damp, and comparatively sunless situation in the valley. So he preferred to stay where he was, and instead of going down to Vesta he compelled the goddess to come up to him. In other words, he set apart a portion of his house to form the public residence of the Pontifex Maximus, and in another portion of it he consecrated a chapel (*aedicula*) of Vesta. From an entry in the Praenestine calendar we know that the chapel was dedicated on the twenty-eighth of April, and that the day was declared by decree of the Senate to be thenceforth a public holiday.⁶

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 437 *sqq.*, with the note.

² Livy, xxvi. 27.

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 41.

⁴ Herodian, i. 14. 4 *sq.*; and as to the fire compare Dio Cassius, lxxii. 24, who does not, however, mention the temple of Vesta among the buildings which perished.

⁵ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 363.

⁶ Dio Cassius, liv. 27; *C.I.L.* i.³ pp. 236, 319; compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 949-954, with the note.

When at the close of his greatest work, the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid prayed to Vesta and the other Roman gods to spare long the life of Augustus, the Vesta to whom the courtly poet addressed his prayer was not the good old Vesta down in the valley, but the brand-new Caesarian Vesta who had lately been consecrated in the Imperial palace.¹ And when in the long roll of his glories Augustus recorded that he had dedicated costly spoils of war in the temple of Apollo and the temple of Vesta,² the mention of the temple of Apollo, which stood on the Palatine, naturally suggests that the temple of Vesta, which the Emperor adorned with the pomp and trophies of war, was the gorgeous domestic chapel of the goddess in the palace rather than her plain old temple in the valley.

There seems to be every reason to believe that the worship of Vesta, in other words, the institution of a Common Hearth with a sacred and perpetual fire burning on it, was very much older than the most ancient of her temples in Rome. When we compare the Latin Vesta with the corresponding Greek goddess Hestia, whose very name, etymologically identical with Vesta, signifies simply "hearth," and who, like Vesta, was worshipped in the Prytaneum, that is, in the prince's house, where a perpetual fire burned on the hearth, we can hardly doubt that the institution dates from a remote prehistoric period when the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans dwelt together and worshipped the fire which burned on the hearth of the king's house. For, as we have seen, the temple of Vesta was situated beside the Regia or king's house; and though we in English call it a temple, it was never a temple (*templum*) in the strict Roman sense of the word but only a house (*aedes*), for it had never been consecrated by the augurs.³ So in Greece the Common Hearth (*Hestia Koine*) appears never to have been placed in a temple, but regularly in a prytaneum, that is, in the house of the *prytanis* or prince.⁴

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 864 sq.,

"Vestaque Caesareos inter sacrata Penates,
Et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta."

² *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 23-26, p. 99 ed. Hardy, p. 30 ed. Diehl⁴.

³ Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius, xiv. 7. 7; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 153, ix. 4.

⁴ See my note on Pausanias, viii. 53. 9 (vol. iv. pp. 441 sq.).

From this coincidence it is natural to infer that in old days the Common Hearth with its perpetual fire was originally the hearth of the king, and consequently that what we incorrectly call the temple of Vesta was of old the King's house.

The maintenance of a perpetual fire in it was probably at first a matter rather of practical convenience than of religious ritual. In early ages, when fire has to be laboriously kindled by rubbing two sticks against each other, it is very convenient to keep a fire constantly burning, from which all may obtain a light when their own fire has chanced to go out. That the tedious mode of kindling fire by the friction of wood was the one formerly in vogue among the Romans we know from the rule that, whenever the Vestal fire was accidentally extinguished, the Vestal Virgins were whipped by the Pontifex Maximus and compelled to rub a board of lucky wood with a borer till it took fire.¹ In an early settlement, whether camp, village, or town, the hut or house of the chief or king would naturally, for the sake of safety, occupy a central position; no house, therefore, could be more conveniently situated for the maintenance of a perpetual fire to which anybody could resort in case of need.

We may further suppose that the Vestal Virgins represented the king's unmarried daughters who, in the olden time, like their successors, may have been charged with the simple domestic duties of keeping the fire always alight on the hearth, fetching water from the spring, grinding corn, and baking cakes to be eaten by the family as well as to be offered to the Goddess of the Hearth. The rule of celibacy may have been introduced in later times when mythical fancy had created a male fire-god to whom the Vestals were thought to be wedded. The legends of Roman kings born of Vestal Virgins impregnated by emanations from the fire on the hearth point clearly in this direction.² The theory that the Vestals were of old the daughters of the king is supported by the relation in which they stood to the Pontifex Maximus, for he seems to have possessed paternal power over them, as a father over his daughters,³

¹ Festus, s.v. "Ignis", p. 94 ed. Lindsay.

² As to these legends of fire-born kings see below, note on *Fasti*, vi. 627, pp. 300 sq.

³ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 314-316, 341 sq.

and occupying the Regia or king's house next door to the temple of Vesta he appears in certain respects to have succeeded to the place and functions of the old king, though in other respects these were inherited by the Sacrificial King (*rex sacrificulus*). When the kingship was abolished, it may have been deemed prudent to divide between several functionaries such duties and privileges as had formerly been concentrated in the person of the king. The view that in his relation to the Vestals the Pontifex Maximus represented the old Roman king is accepted by Wissowa,¹ who, however, supposes the Vestals to represent the king's wife rather than his daughters. But, to say nothing of their number, the rule of celibacy imposed on them under pain of death seems absolutely to exclude the supposition.

The theory that the Vestals were at first the daughters of the king is supported by the analogous practice of the Damaras or Hereros of South-west Africa; for among them the sacred fire, which is kept constantly burning, is regularly tended by the chief's eldest unmarried daughter, whom a European observer has rightly compared to a Vestal Virgin;² if the chief has no unmarried daughter, the task devolves on the unmarried girl who is next of kin to him.³ The view that the Vestals may have been regarded as the wives of the fire-god and therefore as bound to chastity, was first, so far as I know, suggested by me.⁴ It was afterwards adopted by Mr. E. Fehrle⁵ and rejected by Professors G. Wissowa and H. J. Rose.⁶

¹ G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 260.

² C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*² (London, 1861), pp. 223 sq. ¹

³ On this theory of the worship of Vesta and its parallelism with the fire-customs of the Damaras or Hereros see my article "The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires", *Journal of Philology*, xiv. (1885) pp. 145-172; *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 195 sqq., 211 sqq. (sacred fires of the Hereros or Damaras, with the references to the authorities), 227 sqq.; E. Brauer, *Züge aus der Religion der Herero* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 64 sqq., especially 92 sqq. The view that the Vestal Virgins were originally the daughters of the Roman king has been in recent years independently maintained by Professor H. J. Rose on grounds like those on which I proposed the same theory more than forty years ago. See H. J. Rose, "De virginibus Vestalibus", *Mnemosyne*, n.s. liv. (1926) pp. 440-448.

⁴ *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), p. 221.

⁵ E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Alterthum* (Giessen, 1910), pp. 210 sqq.

⁶ G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 261; H. J. Rose, "De religionibus antiquis Quaestiones tres", *Mnemosyne*, n.s. liii. (1925) p. 412.

But if, as both these eminent scholars believe, the official costume of the Vestal Virgins was the ordinary costume of a Roman bride,¹ this would accord perfectly with the theory that the Vestal Virgins were regarded as the wives of the fire-god.

The round shape of the temple of Vesta, as to which Ovid and other ancient writers indulged in vain and fanciful speculation, is explained most simply and naturally as a survival of the ancient form of house which the Italians are known to have inhabited in prehistoric ages. In the second half of the nineteenth century a considerable number of prehistoric villages were disinterred in northern Italy, particularly in the Emilia and Lombardy. They are built on piles by the banks of rivers and streams, and usually on the same site there are remains of three such villages, one above the other, the lower villages exhibiting traces of fire. From the remains found in them it appears that the inhabitants belonged to the Stone (neolithic) and Bronze ages, including a period in the Bronze Age during which stone implements were still not only employed but manufactured; the villages in the Emilia exhibit a preponderance of bronze, those in Lombardy of stone, utensils. Out of 175 huts (or rather foundations of huts) found in the neighbourhood of Bologna, all but three were round and appear from the remaining fragments of the walls to have been constructed of wattle and daub (wickerwork and clay), or branches. The huts were invariably hollowed in the ground to a depth of from eighteen inches to three feet. Thus what is actually found by the excavator is a circular or elliptical hole filled with refuse and indistinguishable from the surrounding soil except by the colour of its contents. The diameter of the huts varies from about six to twenty-six feet. Sometimes the roof was supported on strong vertical piles; the sockets to receive them are often still visible. In the Emilia and in the valley of the Vibrata on the Adriatic coast hundreds of such foundations were discovered, all of them circular and corresponding in size and arrangement to those of Bologna. In

¹ G. Wissowa, *s.v.* "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 264; H. J. Rose, "De virginibus Vestalibus," *Mnemosyne*, n.s. liv. (1926) pp. 442, 444 sq.

the centre of each hut in the Vibrata valley is a hearth (the primitive Vesta) consisting of blocks of sandstone marked by the fire.

This primitive sort of hut appears to have persisted on the eastern side of the Apennines down to the end of the fifth century B.C. ; for in the foundations of some of these prehistoric huts near Bologna were discovered fragments of red-figured Greek vases. But that a similar type of hut prevailed in early times to the west of the Apennines and in Latium is rendered highly probable by the older portion of the cemetery at Alba Longa, the mother-city of Rome. Here the ashes of the dead are deposited in earthen urns which are obviously copies of the dwellings of the living. The urns represent round huts, of which the walls, according to Helbig, must be supposed to have been constructed of clay, brushwood, or other perishable stuff. The roof appears to have been made of layers of straw or reeds, held together by wooden ribs. There was no regular opening in the roof, the door in primitive fashion doing duty also as chimney and window, though some of the urns have a small triangular hole on the front or back slope of the roof. At Rome itself funeral urns of the same type were found in a prehistoric necropolis which was discovered and excavated in 1902 beside the Sacred Way, at the south-east corner of the temple of Faustina, not very many yards from the round temple of Vesta, but so deep down below the surface of the ground that in classical times its existence had been forgotten. The actual huts, of which remains have come to light on the Esquiline and not far from Marino, appear to have corresponded in shape to these miniature huts.

In view of all this evidence it is a reasonable supposition that the first temple of Vesta at Rome was a round hut of the same sort, constructed of clay, brushwood, and the like perishable materials. Indeed, Ovid himself has preserved the tradition of this original temple in the lines in which he tells us that "the roof which now gleams with bronze was then green with thatch, and the walls were woven of tough osiers".¹ Nay, down to the poet's own time two such huts, monuments of an immemorial past, were sedulously pre-

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 261 sq.

served at Rome itself. One of them was the hut of Romulus on the Palatine ;¹ the other was the hut of Faustulus, the foster-father of Romulus, which, similarly constructed of sticks and brushwood, was actually preserved in the temple of Jupiter.² From all this Helbig inferred with great probability that, at the time when the Latin race settled on the Alban Mountain and spread over the Campagna, they still dwelt in round huts of the same primitive sort which their forefathers had inhabited in the forest-clearings by the rivers of Northern Italy.³

In the cemetery beside the Sacred Way at Rome almost all the pottery is of native manufacture, made of clay such as is found in the Forum itself, without the use of the potter's wheel. Greek imports are almost entirely lacking, with the exception of a few so-called Proto-Corinthian vases, which are found in the most recent graves. Bronze objects, including bits of weapons and of jewelry, especially brooches (*fibulae*), were found in considerable quantity. Several of these brooches are ornamented with strips of amber. No gold was found in any of the graves ; its absence harmonizes with the Roman rule, codified as law in the Twelve Tables, that no gold should be buried with the dead except such as was used to fasten the teeth,⁴ an interesting exception which sheds light on the antiquity of dentistry at Rome. Both inhumation and cremation were practised ; the two classes of burial are about equally numerous. But by far the larger proportion of inhumation graves are those of children. In the cases where the body was burnt, a large spherical or

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 183 *sq.* ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 79. 11 ; Vitruvius, ii. 1. 5.

² Conon, *Narrationes*, 48, in *Scriptores Poeticae Historiae Graeci (Mythographi Graeci)* ed. Westermann, pp. 149 *sq.*

³ As to the round prehistoric huts and hut-urns of Italy, and the inferences to be drawn from them for Roman architecture and especially for the temple of Vesta, see W. Helbig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene* (Leipzig, 1879), especially pp. 47-55 ; my article, "Note on the Early Italian Huts", *Journal of Philology*, xv. (1886) pp. 145-148 ; W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 4 *seq.* ; T. Eric Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 88 *sqq.*, "Neolithic hut-foundations". As to the prehistoric cemetery beside the Sacred Way at Rome see Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², pp. 222-229 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 187-190 ; T. E. Eric Peet, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. 574.

⁴ Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 24. 60.

oblong pot of earthenware was set in a round opening, hollowed out of the tufa and covered over with small slabs of tufa. The pot contained the urn with the ashes, and also smaller vessels with sacrificial gifts or remains of the funeral meal. Even the most recent graves are not later than the sixth century B.C.; the oldest are thought to go back into the eighth or possibly into the ninth century; in the latter case they would be older than the traditional foundation of the city in 753 B.C. It is not known whether this burial-place belonged to the first settlers on the Palatine or to the enlarged city of the Seven Hills (*Septimontium*).

VI. 259. **that peaceful king, than whom no man of more god-fearing temper was ever born in Sabine land.**—The Sabine king Numa Pompilius passed in the tradition of the Romans for the most pacific and pious of their kings. To his legislation they ascribed the greater part of their religious institutions. Indeed, his saintly figure was for them very much what Moses was for the Israelites. It is said that in his reign of forty-three years the temple of Janus was never opened, in other words, Rome was at peace with all her neighbours, an event which occurred only once subsequently in Roman history down to the time when the conquered and war-weary world acquiesced in the sway of Augustus. The peaceful spirit of Numa is even reported to have spread to all the cities round about. In the fond recollection of posterity his reign was pictured as a sort of Golden Age, like that to which the Hebrew prophets looked forward, when neighbouring peoples met in happy and peaceful intercourse at feasts and festivals, when the brazen trumpet rang out no more, when the sword rusted in the scabbard, and spiders spun their webs over the disused shields.¹

To complete the resemblance of the Roman to the Israelitish lawgiver, Numa was said to have written seven books on the sacred law of the pontiffs, which in 181 B.C., centuries after his death, were discovered in his tomb on the Janiculum. Along with these Latin books were found a Greek treatise on philosophy in as many books by the same royal and religious author. The books of the law

¹ Plutarch, *Numa*, 20; Livy, i. 18-21; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 60-76; Cicero, *De republica*, ii. 13-14 (25-26).

were carefully preserved, but the treatise on philosophy being found to be of a dangerous tendency and calculated to undermine the foundations of religion, the Senate ordered the pernicious work to be publicly burned by the slaughterers of sacrificial victims (*victimarii*). Such at least is the legend reported by Valerius Maximus,¹ and substantially to the same effect by Lactantius² and Plutarch,³ except that according to the Greek historian the books both of the law and of philosophy were each twelve in number, and all together were committed impartially to the flames and consumed to ashes.

VI. 263. **the Hall of Vesta.**—The Hall of Vesta (*Atrium Vestae*) was the name given to the house of the Vestals, where they lived like nuns in a convent. On being elected to her sacred office, the Vestal was conducted to the Hall of Vesta and there committed to the charge of the pontiffs or rather, we may suppose, to the charge of the Pontifex Maximus; from that moment she ceased to be under the power of her father and acquired the right of making a will.⁴ Thenceforth she continued to reside in the convent, as we may call it, during her tenure of office; only in case of illness was she removed from it and entrusted to the care and custody of a matron.⁵ The house probably took its name of *Atrium* from the spacious open courtyard (*atrium*) which, as modern excavations have proved, formed the central feature of the edifice. The house is mentioned under the same name (*Atrium Vestae*) by Servius,⁶ who makes the curious statement that the Senate used to assemble there.

In October 1883 excavations conducted to the east of the Forum, at the northern foot of the Palatine, laid bare a building which, from the inscriptions and statues found in and near it, was at once recognized as the house of the Vestal Virgins, the *Atrium Vestae*. The excavations were continued but left unfinished in 1884; they were resumed in 1889 and completed in 1903. The result has been to prove that if the Vestals lived in some respects the life of cloistered nuns, their renunciation of the pomps and vanities of the

¹ Valerius Maximus, i. 9. 12.

² Plutarch, *Numa*, 22.

³ Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 19. 2.

⁴ Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 22.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, i. 12. 9.

⁶ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 152.

world, to say nothing of the joys of wifehood and motherhood, was tempered by the luxury and splendour of the conventual buildings, where all that ancient science and art could do was done to remedy or mitigate the evils of the low, damp, unwholesome situation, under the towering shadow of the Palatine and of the gigantic palaces reared on it by the vanity and ostentation of the emperors. In the days of the Republic the house of the Vestals was no doubt far simpler and less pretentious; some scanty remains of floors and walls belonging to it have been found about three feet below the level of the later building towards its north-west corner; with their exception the existing ruins are all of imperial date and represent the house as it was restored for the last time by Severus in the third century of our era after the destructive fire in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 191). Even in its ruins the house is held to be on the whole the most important example of Roman domestic architecture that has yet been discovered; in so far as a great part of the upper story is preserved, it surpasses in completeness any of the houses at Pompeii. To make room for it a great part of the lower slope of the Palatine was cut away and the back of the house set against it in such a way that its south-west side stands against an artificially scarped cliff, about twenty feet high, and the upper floor of the house is about level with the New Way (*Via Nova*), a road for foot passengers, which runs along the brink of this artificial cliff, skirting the House of the Vestals on the southern side. As the rooms on this side, backed against the hill and cut off from the sunlight, were particularly exposed to damp, special precautions were taken to keep them dry and warm by double walls with an empty space between them and by hollow floors, under which hot air circulated from furnaces.

The House of the Vestals is built round a spacious cloistered court, of oblong shape, extending roughly east and west and surrounded by a double colonnade, one row of columns being erected on the top of the other, but without any intermediate flooring. The lower columns were monoliths of wavy green and white *cipollino* marble, the upper columns were smaller monoliths of beautiful *breccia corallina*. These rows of superposed columns stood about thirteen feet from

the walls of the house, leaving a cloister which gave access to the rooms and in which the Virgins, wrapt in religious or studious meditation, might pace when the weather confined them to the house. Much of the upper part of the house, with staircases leading up to it, is well preserved. According to Huelsen, the house must have comprised at least four stories and probably five, at least on the side towards the Palatine. Thus it must have afforded ample accommodation not only for the six Vestals¹ but for a large staff of servants, who waited on the great ladies.

It is no longer possible to assign all the many rooms to the various uses to which they were put when the Virgins still dwelt in these truly marble halls; for floors and walls were alike paved or incrustated with gorgeous Oriental marbles, granites, porphyries, and alabasters. On the ground floor, at the south-east end of the great court, is a room supposed to be a parlour (*tablinum*), once covered by a semicircular barrel vault, of which only part remains. The parlour opens on the court; a flight of four steps, between columns, leads down from it into the cloister. Opening off it on either side are six small rooms, perhaps the boudoirs or rather the private oratories of the six Vestals. The three little rooms on the south side, being damp from their position against the slope of the hill, were carefully warmed with hot-air flues. A small room near the south-east corner of the court contains a well-preserved mill made of lava with a circular kerb round it for the slaves to walk on who turned the upper grindstone with the help of wooden levers. We have seen² that one of the duties of the Vestals was to grind the spelt for the sacrificial meal (*mola salsa*), but we can hardly suppose that they paced this kerb with their dainty feet and turned this millstone with their own fair hands; probably they deputed the laborious work to servants. But some think that the mill may have belonged to a bakery

¹ It is said that under the early kings of Rome the number of the Vestal Virgins was four, but that two were added either by Tarquin the Elder (according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus) or by Servius Tullius (according to Plutarch), and that the number six was ever after preserved down into Imperial times. See Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit Rom.* ii. 67. 1, iii. 67. 2; Plutarch, *Numa*, 10. 1; Festus, s.v. "Sex Vestae sacerdotes", p. 468 ed. Lindsay.

² See above, p. 175.

established in the house after it had been abandoned by the Vestals.

A great part of the upper story of the house still exists on the south side, next to the New Way (*Via Nova*). It is composed of a series of small rooms, all once lined with marble; most of them contain baths and were warmed very effectively by flue-tiles which lined the walls, and by hollow floors, supported on low pillars (*pilae*), which allowed the hot air from the furnaces to circulate below them.

In the open court are several long tanks, set lengthwise, which may have contained the water brought daily by the Vestals from a sacred spring for use in their lustrations. In the centre of the court are remains of a curious brick structure enclosed by an octagon. It has been variously interpreted. Some regard it as a series of low kerbs or borders which may have enclosed flower-beds, the whole forming a miniature garden designed to console the Virgins for the loss of the holy grove of Vesta which once clothed with verdure the slope of the Palatine at the back of their house.¹ Another suggestion is that the octagon supported a pavilion or summer-house where the Vestals may have whiled away the sultry hours of summer noons, or after the sweltering heat of day may have sought coolness in summer nights, sitting there and dreaming perhaps of the life they might have led in the great city that lay, now hushed in slumber, all around them, while the stars looked down on the Forum, and the moonlight slept white on the marble fanes of the Capitol.

But the chief ornament of the great cloistered court were the marble statues of Vestal Virgins which stood all round it, each on its own pedestal inscribed with a dedication commemorating the virtues and merits of the lady portrayed. Most of the statues and pedestals were found at the west end of the Atrium, heaped up in such a way that they were clearly intended to be thrown on a mediaeval lime-kiln; arms, hands, feet, and all projecting parts had been ruthlessly hacked off and crammed in the intervals between the statues. Hence it is impossible to identify a single one of the statues by means of its inscription. Only one solitary, but fragmentary, inscription was found in its place at the south-western corner

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 101.

of the court. Eight similar inscribed pedestals, which once supported statues of Vestal Virgins, had been found on the site about 1499, and two more in 1549. The marble of which the statues is wrought is of various sorts, both Italian and Greek, including the smooth creamy marble of Pentelicus and the glistening crystalline marble of Paros. The statues were of more than life-size: some of them have been preserved almost entire: of others only fragments remain. They are of various dates, mostly of the third century A.D., but one or two date from the second. As a work of art, the finest is a very noble portrait of a stately, rather stern-faced Roman lady of middle age; only the upper half remains. It may be a work of Trajan's or of Hadrian's time. This figure is of special interest as it exhibits the only known representation of a sacred vestment called *suffibulum*, which the Vestals always wore in sacrificing; it was a sort of hood made of white cloth with a purple border; it was rectangular in shape, and was folded over the head and fastened in front below the throat by a brooch.¹ The inscriptions prove that in every case the lady portrayed was the Chief Vestal (*Virgo Vestalis Maxima*); apparently she alone was entitled to be thus commemorated.

The entrance to the Hall of Vesta (*Atrium Vestae*) was at the north-west corner of the great court, doubtless to enable the Vestals to pass immediately from their house to the temple of Vesta, which directly adjoined their dwelling on the north-west. But even before, issuing from the doorway and turning to the left, they reached the temple, they must have passed on the left a small shrine (*aedicula*) built against the wall of their house on the outside. Remains of this shrine exist in the shape of a platform constructed of brick and concrete, with part of its marble lining and plinth. The architrave and frieze are also preserved; they were originally supported by two marble columns, of which one exists and has been set up in position, while the missing one has been replaced by a shaft of travertine. On the architrave is engraved in fine letters of the time of Hadrian (the early part of the second century A.D.) an inscription setting forth that the

¹ Festus, s.v. "*Suffibulum*", pp. 474, 475 ed. Lindsay; compare Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 21.

shrine was made at the public expense by order of the Senate and the Roman People. We may suppose that the shrine contained an image of Vesta ; for we know that her temple hardly contained no image of the goddess, and her worshippers might naturally crave for some visible representation of the divinity whom they revered. Religious faith is apt to grow cold when it has nothing more substantial on which to feed than abstract ideas and empty fanes.

While the House of the Vestals, as it now stands in ruins, dates in the main from the time of Septimius Severus, the existing remains comprise a patchwork of various dates ranging from the first to the third century of our era ; for the building suffered more or less severely from fire, particularly the great fires which raged in the reign of Nero (A.D. 64) and the reign of Commodus (A.D. 191), and it was again and again restored, enlarged, and beautified by the pious care of successive emperors, among whom Nero, Hadrian, the Antonines, and Septimius Severus, or probably rather his wife Julia Domna, appear to have been the most active. At all events a careful examination of the arrangement, materials, and modes of construction of the different parts of the edifice points to the conclusion that they date mainly from the time of these emperors.¹

VI. 264. the great palace of unshorn Numa.—Ovid has already spoken of “the unshorn forefathers”.² Elsewhere, too, as here, he tells us that “this place of Vesta, which

¹ As to the House of the Vestals (*Atrium Vestae*), its history, and present remains, see H. Jordan, *Der Tempel der Vesta und das Haus der Vestalinnen* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 5 sq., 25 sqq.; *id.*, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 299, 423, 427 sq.; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 307-329; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*⁴, pp. 60-62; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, pp. 89 sq.; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter³, pp. 204-217; Esther Boise van Deman, *The Atrium Vestae*, Washington, D.C., 1909 (the architectural history of the edifice, based on a close examination of the existing remains, and illustrated by plans exhibiting its state in successive periods); S. B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 204-210; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*⁴, pp. 316-333. As to the statues of the Vestals see further W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*², ii. pp. 152-153, Nos. 1357-1360; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, iii. 2013 sq.; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*⁴, pp. 61 sq. In the faces of the ladies Helbig professes to detect ill-humour, occasionally tempered by resignation and melancholy, or degenerating into downright stupidity. As to the inscriptions on the pedestals see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 4924-4938.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 30, with the note.

guards the Palladium and the fire, was the small palace of ancient Numa".¹ But the poet cannot have meant to identify the palace of Numa either with the House of the Vestals or with the temple of Vesta; all that he implies is that the palace stood near both these buildings. To the same effect, but more exactly, Solinus writes that "Numa first dwelt on the Quirinal Hill but afterwards near the temple of Vesta in the King's House (*Regia*), which is still so called".²

Similarly Plutarch writes that "when Numa had regulated the priesthoods, he built what is called the *Regia*, that is, the Royal House, near the temple of Vesta, and there he spent most of his time, sacrificing or teaching the priests, or wrapt up in his own private meditations on divine things. And he had another house on the Quirinal Hill, of which they show the place even to this day."³ Further, we know that Numa's palace adjoined the Forum; for Servius asks, "Who knows not that the palace (*Regia*) where Numa dwelt was at the roots of the Palatine and bordered on the Forum?"⁴ And again Appian tells us that the pyre on which the multitude, roused to fury by the eloquence of Mark Antony, burned the mangled body of Julius Caesar, was hastily constructed in the Forum, "where is the ancient palace of the Roman kings", and where soon afterwards were erected, first an altar, and afterwards a temple in honour of the murdered emperor.⁵ The proximity of the old royal palace (*Regia*) to the temple of Vesta is also implied by Tacitus in a passage in which, referring to the great fire in the reign of Nero, he says that "the palace (*Regia*) of Numa and the shrine of Vesta, with the Penates of the Roman People, were burnt down".⁶ These statements or implications of ancient writers have been amply confirmed by modern excavations, which have revealed the remains of the temple of Julius Caesar at the east end of the Forum, with the remains of the *Regia* immediately to the east of it, while immediately to the south of the *Regia* stands the circular basis of the temple of Vesta,

¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 29 sq.

³ Plutarch, *Numa*, 14. 1.

⁵ Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 20. 148.

² Solinus, i. 21.

⁴ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 363.

⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 41.

and to the east and south-east of that basis lie the more extensive ruins of the House of Vesta (*Atrium Vestae*) at the foot of the Palatine. The four edifices form a group in close proximity to each other.

The Regia or King's House suffered repeatedly from fire before the disastrous conflagration in the reign of Nero. It was burnt in a great fire which raged in 148 B.C.¹ In the following century it was again burnt, but it was restored in splendid style by Cn. Domitius Calvinus, who expended on it the greater part of the sums received by him for the triumph which he celebrated in 36 B.C.² for the victories won by him in Spain three years previously. Among the ornaments with which he enriched it were a number of statues which he borrowed from Caesar for the dedication of the temple but omitted to return.³

The goddess Ops or Ops Consiva, whom the Romans regarded as a personification of the earth and as the wife of Saturn, was worshipped in the Regia; ⁴ there she had a chapel (*sacrarium*) which none but the Vestal Virgins and a public priest (probably the Pontifex Maximus) were allowed to enter; ⁵ her festival, the Opeconsiva ⁶ or Opiconsivia, was celebrated in the Regia on the twenty-fifth of August.⁷ Another chapel in the Regia contained the sacred spears of Mars, and whenever the spears shook it was regarded as a portent; the Pontifex Maximus solemnly announced it to the Senate, who voted that expiatory sacrifices of large victims should be offered to Jupiter, Mars, and any other gods whom it might be deemed advisable to propitiate in this emergency.⁸ This shaking of the spears, which shook by sympathy the stout Roman heart, would seem to have

¹ Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 19 (78), p. 156 ed. Rossbach.

² *C.I.L.* i.² p. 76.

³ Dio Cassius, xlviii. 42. By Caesar (*τοῦ Καίσαρος*) in this passage Dio Cassius must mean Octavian (Augustus), for Julius Caesar was dead long before Domitius Calvinus celebrated his triumph.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Opima spolia", p. 202 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 21.

⁶ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 21.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 327. On Ops regarded as a personification of earth and as the wife of Saturn see further Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 57 and 64; Festus, s.v. "Opis", p. 203 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 10. 18-21; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 498, *Fasti*, vi. 285 sq. Compare note on *Fasti*, iii. 189 (Vol. III. p. 54).

⁸ Aulus Gellius, iv. 6. 1 sq.

been a not uncommon event.¹ We may conjecture that it was sometimes caused by an earthquake or perhaps simply by the passage of carts and waggons rumbling over the pavement of the Sacred Way, which ran by the side of the Regia.

The Regia appears to have been the public office in which the Pontifex Maximus, representative of the ancient kings, was bound to summon his colleagues the other pontiffs when they had to meet in solemn conference. For when the Emperor Domitian, who in virtue of his office was at the same time Pontifex Maximus, desired to bury the Senior Vestal Virgin alive, because he conceived that such a signal vindication of the moral law would add lustre to his reign, he ought to have summoned the pontiffs to the Regia there to pass the sentence of death; but being then at his villa near Alba on the Alban Hills, he compelled his submissive colleagues to come out to him and there enact the farce of the trial and condemnation, after which they were sent back post haste to Rome to superintend the execution.²

Servius says that "the house in which the Pontifex Maximus dwells is called the Regia, because the Sacrificial King (*rex sacrificulus*) had been wont to dwell in it";³ and so far as the Sacrificial King is concerned the statement of Servius seems to be confirmed by a brief notice of Festus, or rather of his abbreviator Paulus Diaconus, who says curtly, "Regia, the house where the king dwells".⁴ But in fact it appears that, though the Regia was the office of the Pontifex Maximus, neither he nor the Sacrificial King lived in it. For from a mutilated passage in Festus⁵ we gather that the Regia was a *fanum*, that is, a consecrated place,⁶ and therefore unsuitable for human habitation. Moreover, in regard to the Sacrificial King we have the express testimony of Festus himself, that the house of the Sacrificial King was not in the Regia but at a considerable distance from it along the Sacred Way, apparently in the neighbourhood of the Arch of Titus; for, correcting the ordinary view of the

¹ Livy, xl. 19. 2; Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 6, 36, 44, 47, 50, pp. 152, 163, 166, 168, 169 ed. Roszbach.

² Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 11.

³ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 363.

⁴ Festus, s.v. "Regia", p. 347 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Regia", pp. 346, 348 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Festus, s.v. "Fanium", p. 78 ed. Lindsay; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 54.

length of the Sacred Way, Festus observes that the name Sacred is not merely to be applied to it, as is popularly supposed, "from the Regia to the house of the Sacrificial King, but also from the King's house (" *a Regis domo* ") to the shrine (*sacellum*) of Strenia and back again from the Regia to the citadel".¹ In this passage Festus distinguishes in the most formal manner the Regia from the house of the Sacrificial King (" *domus Regis sacrificuli* "). His definition of the Sacred Way, as stretching from the shrine of Strenia to the citadel (that is, to the Capitol), agrees perfectly with that of Varro.² The exact site of the shrine of Strenia is not known; it is believed to have been somewhere in the valley of the Colosseum.³ But though the Sacrificial King did not live in the Regia, he used to sacrifice a ram in it on the days called *agonales*.⁴ In the custom we may see a survival from the regal times when the real king used to sacrifice rams in his palace.

With regard to the Pontifex Maximus also we have independent evidence that he did not live in the Regia. For when Julius Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus, he took up his residence in the official house on the Sacred Way,⁵ but this official house (*domus publica*) is not described as the Regia, though it was probably near it. Again, when Augustus was elected Pontifex Maximus in 12 B.C., and in consequence was legally bound to take up residence in the official house of the Pontifex, which abutted on (*ἀμφοτεροῦχος*) the house of the Vestals, he preferred to resign that official house to the Vestals, and to set apart a portion of his own private house on the Palatine to serve as the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, whose priesthood was henceforth always held by the Emperor.⁶

¹ Festus, s.v. " *Sacram Viam* ", p. 372 ed. Lindsay.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 47.

³ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 259: II. Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain*, p. 167.

⁴ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 12; compare Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 333 sq.

⁵ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 46.

⁶ Dio Cassius, liv. 27. 2 sq., who, however, makes the mistake of calling the house which Augustus resigned to the Vestals "the house of the Sacrificial King" (τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ιερῶν) instead of "the house of the Pontifex Maximus"; for we have just seen that the house of the Sacrificial King, far from abutting on the House of the Vestals, was situated at some distance from it along the Sacred Way.

As the official house (*domus publica*) of the Pontifex abutted on the House of the Vestals and was actually annexed to it by Augustus, we should naturally expect to find some remains of it among the extensive ruins of the *Atrium Vestae* or House of the Vestals. In fact, beneath the ruins of the House of the Vestals, on the north side, towards the Sacred Way, there exist some remains of walls and mosaic pavements which are believed to have formed part of the old republican House of the Vestals and of the official house (*domus publica*) of the Pontifex Maximus; but even if the identification were certain it would be difficult to distinguish among them between the portion which belonged to the House of the Vestals and the portion which belonged to the house of the Pontifex Maximus. Mrs. Esther van Deman, who has made a careful examination of all these remains, concludes that the original house of the Vestals occupied the space between the temple on the north, the grove of Vesta on the south, the precinct of Juturna on the west, and the house of the Pontifex Maximus on the east; and though the extent of the Pontiff's house is uncertain, Mrs. van Deman thinks it probable that it was much larger than the House of the Vestals. She supposes that it covered almost the entire space between the Sacred Way and the earlier New Way (*Nova Via*). On the west it was united to the House of the Vestals by the common wall (*ὁμότοιχος*) mentioned by Dio Cassius.¹ The general plan of the house cannot be determined. But in the centre of the earlier building there was an open court, of which there remain the bases of two columns and a gutter of travertine, as well as other smaller fragments. In the later reconstruction, this court was replaced by a number of small rooms. Some pieces of mosaic pavement and painted stucco, which once adorned the floors and walls of the Pontiff's house, have also come to light; and in a room at the east end of the house a small part of a more elaborate fresco is still visible. though

these faded paintings. No spot on earth can be viewed with indifference where men have lived who by their genius have shaped the destinies or moulded the thought of their fellows for thousands of years. And among such men pre-eminently was Caesar.¹

The remains of the Regia proper, the office, though not the house, of the Pontifex Maximus, are somewhat more considerable, or at least more conspicuous, and their identification is indubitable. The building stood a few yards north of the temple of Vesta and of the House of the Vestals. The ruins are very fragmentary, consisting of little more than foundations and pieces of the entablature. From these, however, it is possible to make out the general plan. The main structure was a block, not quite rectangular, but with the eastern end set out of the square. This block measured about 65 feet 6 inches in length by 25 feet in breadth, and it was divided lengthwise into three rooms, about half of the whole length being occupied by the larger room at the west end. The two smaller rooms at the east end, placed one behind the other, may perhaps have been the chapel of Mars and the chapel of Ops Consiva. To the north of this block are remains of a pavement of marble slabs which appear to have belonged to another chamber. One portion only of the edifice still exists to a fair height above the ground; this is a fragment of the parti-wall which separated the two smaller chambers at the eastern end. This wall, together with the jambs of its central doorway, is built of solid blocks of white Luna marble, neatly fitted together and bedded in a thin layer of lime mortar. The largest piece of the wall is 8 feet 7 inches high, and consists of five courses of these fine blocks of marble. To judge by this specimen, the whole building would seem to have been similarly constructed. This splendid style of masonry, consisting of solid rectangular blocks of marble exquisitely chiselled and jointed, was common enough in Greece, but is very exceptional in Rome, where, as a rule, marble is used rather in the form of facing slabs than of solid blocks. The small circular temple by the Tiber is one of the very few other examples of this more

¹ As to the ruins of his house see Mrs. Esther Boise van Deman, *The Atrium Vestae*, pp. 11-14.

magnificent and lavish use of marble which still exist. It is highly probable that the great marble blocks inscribed with the Consular and Triumphal Fasti, which are now preserved in the Capitoline Museum, originally composed parts of the walls of the marble Regia, for these precious inscriptions, which form the foundation of Roman chronology, are cut, not on slabs, but on blocks of Luna marble like those used in the construction of the Regia. They were found at or near the spot in 1546. The inscriptions are fully and carefully edited in the first volume of the great *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.¹ A missing part of the Consular Fasti was discovered at Rome in 1926. It is a solid marble block inscribed with lists, nearly complete, of the consuls from 278 to 266 B.C., and again from 214 to 208 B.C. The list of the consuls from 278 to 266 B.C. is particularly welcome, since the book or books of Livy that dealt with that period are lost.²

Nothing could be more appropriate than that these inscriptions, with their long record of the glories and triumphs of Rome, should be affixed to the walls of the house in which the Pontifex Maximus transacted public business, for among his multifarious duties not the least important was that of compiling year by year what we might call an *Annual Register*. In fact, he was bound to record the events of each year on a tablet and to exhibit the tablet publicly at his house or office in order that anybody who chose might consult it and inform himself about the matters so recorded. Each of these annual records began with the names of the consuls and other magistrates of the year, and then described the principal events that had happened at home and abroad, by land and sea, in peace and war, with their dates. Being compiled by the Pontifex Maximus they were called the *Annales Maximi*; and they formed the

¹ C.I.L. i.² pp. 1 sqq. As to the Regia and its remains see J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 304-307; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 221-223; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 91 sq.; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 298 sqq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 210-214; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², pp. 192-197; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*², pp. 91-94, 274-276; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom*⁴, pp. 58 sq.

² R. S. Conway, "A New Fragment of Roman History", *Discovery*, vii. (1926) pp. 236 sqq.

principal source from which in later years the literary chroniclers drew their information concerning the early history of Rome.¹ Mommsen was of opinion that the practice of thus compiling an annual chronicle and appending it to the list of magistrates for the year must have been instituted in the first half of the fifth century B.C., that is, not long after the establishment of the Republic.² Certainly no attentive reader can fail to be struck by the sharp contrast which meets him in passing from the annals of the kings to the annals of the consuls ; in reaching the period of the Republic he feels that he has emerged from the clouds of fable into the light of history. This sudden illumination we may owe to the *Pontifices Maximi*.

VI. 267. *Vesta is the same as the Earth : under both of them is a perpetual fire.*—With this and the following lines, in which Ovid identifies Vesta with the Earth, and supposes that her round temple symbolized the terrestrial globe, compare a passage of Festus : “ Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans, seems to have consecrated a round temple of Vesta, because he believed that she was the earth by which the life of men is sustained, and he gave the temple the shape of a ball, in order that the goddess might be worshipped in a temple like herself.”³ To the same effect Dionysius of Halicarnassus, speaking of the foundation of the temple of Vesta by Numa, observes : “ They think that the fire is dedicated to Vesta, because that goddess, being the earth and occupying the central position in the world, kindles the celestial fires from herself.”⁴ Plutarch also gives a symbolical interpretation of the shape of the temple, but according to him its round form was a miniature, not of the earth, but of the entire universe. He says : “ And it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta in a circular shape to guard the perpetual fire, not in imitation of the form of the earth, as if Vesta were identical with it, but in imitation of the whole

¹ Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 12. 52 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 373 ; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 2. 17 ; Festus, s.v. “ Maximi Annales”, p. 113 ed. Lindsay ; compare Livy, i. 32. 2.

² Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 506 sq.

³ Festus, s.v. “ Rutundam aedem”, p. 320 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 66. 3.

universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans think the fire is situated, and they call the fire Vesta and *Meith*. And they hold that the earth is neither motionless nor situated in the centre of the sphere, but that it revolves in a circle round the fire, not being itself one of the most precious or primary elements of the universe."¹ Servius seems to have had the present passage of Ovid in mind when he wrote that Vesta "is the earth, which stands in the middle of the world poised by its own force and has a fire within itself".² Elsewhere he repeats this identification of Vesta with the earth, and refers to Mount Etna and volcanic phenomena in proof of the existence of a subterranean fire.³ It was probably of these volcanic eruptions rather than of a central cosmic fire that Ovid was thinking in the present passage.

The view that Vesta was the earth is reported also by Augustine: "They thought that Vesta herself was the greatest of the goddesses, because she is the earth."⁴ To the same effect Arnobius says that some persons hold the earth to be Vesta, "because it alone stands fast in the world, while all the other parts of the world are in perpetual motion".⁵ Similarly Greek speculation identified Hestia (the counterpart of Vesta) with the earth, as we learn from two lines which Macrobius quotes from an unknown play of Euripides: "And Mother Earth, the wise among mortals do call thee Hestia, seated as thou art in ether".⁶ So Cornutus, too, says that Hestia and Demeter are identical with earth;⁷ but whether he had the Greek Hestia or the Roman Vesta in his mind, is not clear; probably he did not distinguish between them. It need hardly be added that the speculative identification of Vesta or Hestia with the earth is worthless, and that the derivation of the roundness of her temple from the roundness of the earth is absurd. The true explanation of the shape of the temple, as we have seen,⁸ is much simpler and homelier.

¹ Plutarch, *Numa*, 11.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 296.

³ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292.

⁴ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vii. 16.

⁵ Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iii. 32.

⁶ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 23. 8; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck³, p. 665, frag. 944.

⁷ Cornutus, *Theolog. Graec. Compendium*, 28, p. 52 ed. Lang.

⁸ Above, pp. 184 sq.

VI. 268. **the earth and the hearth are symbols of the home.**—

The line is obscure and perhaps corrupt. See the Critical Note. Ovid seems to mean that the hearth (Vesta, Hestia) is at the centre of the house as the earth is at the centre of the universe. To this effect Cornutus says that Hestia (the hearth) "is given a round form and is set at the middle of the house because the earth is such and is similarly situated, being pressed together".¹ My old friend, the late J. P. Postgate, regarded the words *significant sedem suam* as equivalent to *signa dant sedis suae*, and he translated, "And on Earth, as on Hearth, is the mark of their place in the world".²

VI. 269. **The earth is like a ball, resting on no prop.**—

Thales and the Stoics held that the earth was spherical.³ Plato represents Socrates as maintaining that the earth was a sphere at rest at the centre of the universe, not needing the support of the air or of any force to maintain it in position, but poised by virtue of its own equilibrium and its resemblance to the spherical heaven.⁴ The Socratic cosmology closely resembles that of Ovid in the present passage, as was pointed out by J. P. Postgate,⁵ who also argued that Ovid was here drawing on a Stoic source.⁶ But the poet's mention of the fire beneath the earth, if it does not refer, as seems likely, to volcanic phenomena, may possibly allude to the Pythagorean notion of a central fire which philosophers of that school called the Hearth (Hestia) of the Universe; round it they supposed the sun and moon and the earth itself to revolve in a circle. Such at least was the doctrine of Philolaus the Pythagorean.⁷ On the other hand Ecphantus the Pythagorean denied that the earth revolved in an orbit, though he held that it revolved on its axis.⁸ Ovid appears to have rejected the idea of the motion of the earth in any form, maintaining that it was absolutely stationary (line 299). The theory of some philosophers that the earth was a sphere stationary at the centre of the universe, while the sky and the

¹ Cornutus, *Theolog. Graec. Compendium*, 28, p. 53 ed. Lang.

² See his article in *The Classical Quarterly*, iv. (1910) pp. 196-200.

³ Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*, iii. 10, p. 895 D.

⁴ Plato, *Phaedo*, pp. 108 D-109 A.

⁵ *The Classical Quarterly*, xii. (1918) p. 139.

⁶ *The Classical Quarterly*, viii. (1914) pp. 246 sq.

⁷ Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*, iii. 11 and 13, pp. 895 E, 896 A.

⁸ Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*, iii. 13, p. 896 A.

heavenly bodies revolved round it, is expounded by Lactantius in a passage¹ which has been compared to the present passage of Ovid; the theory is rejected by the Christian Father chiefly on the ground of the absurdity of supposing that on the other side of the globe people walk about upside down and plants and trees grow downwards.

VI. 277. *They stand a globe hung by Syracusan art in closed air.*—At Syracuse the great mathematician and engineer, Archimedes, constructed an orrery in which the relative movements of the sun, moon, the five planets, and the stars were imitated by means of machinery. The orrery was known as the sphere of Archimedes. According to Lactantius, the sphere was of bronze; according to Claudian, it was of glass.² Cicero says that Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, brought the orrery to Rome and placed it in the temple of Virtue (Valour), while he took to his own house a somewhat inferior copy of it, that being the only object which he appropriated out of the rich spoil of the city.³ It seems strange that so interesting and curious a specimen of Greek science and art should not be mentioned by later writers among the sights of Rome. Pliny does not notice it.

VI. 283. *You ask why the goddess is tended by virgin ministers.*—The mythical explanation of the rule which Ovid suggests will hardly be found satisfactory by a modern reader. The ancients themselves were puzzled by the custom and proposed various fanciful solutions of the problem. Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought that the care of the perpetual fire was committed to virgins because fire, like virgins, is undefiled, and the chastest of mortals are dear to the purest of the divine elements.⁴ Again, Plutarch writes as follows: ⁵ "For to Numa they attribute also the consecration of the Vestal Virgins and in general the worship and observance of the undying fire which they guard, whether it was that he looked on the essence of fire as pure and incorrupt and

¹ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* iii. 24.

² Cicero, *De re publica*, i. 14. 21-22; *id.*, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 25. 63; *id.*, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 35. 88; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* ii. 5; Claudian, *Carm. Minor.* li. (lxviii); Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Mathematicos*, ix. 115, p. 416 ed. Bekker; compare Martianus Capella, vi. 586, p. 198 ed. Eyssenhardt.

³ Cicero, *De re publica*, i. 14. 21.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 66. 2.

⁵ Plutarch, *Numa*, 9. 5-7.

therefore committed it to the care of uncontaminated and undefiled persons, or whether it was that he had regard to its unfruitful and barren character and for that reason associated it with virginity. Since to be sure in Greece, wherever there is kept a perpetual fire, as at Delphi and Athens, it is entrusted not to virgins but to women who have done with marriage; and if by any chance it should go out, as at Athens during the tyranny of Aristion the sacred lamp is said to have been extinguished, and at Delphi, when the temple was burnt down by the Maedi¹ about the time of the Mithridatic and the Roman civil war, the fire and the altar perished together, then they say that it may not be kindled from another fire, but that they must make it fresh and new by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun." This was done, as Plutarch proceeds to explain, by means of what we might call a burning-glass, a triangular metal mirror which concentrated the rays of the sun at the apex of the triangle.

This testimony of Plutarch shows that for some reason the Greeks, like the Romans, believed that the perpetual fire on the Common Hearth (Hestia, Vesta) ought to be tended by women who were not in sexual relations with men; in other words, either by women who had ceased to have such relations (as in Greece) or by virgins (as in Rome). In short, both peoples regarded strict continence as obligatory on the women who kept up the perpetual fires, and who had to rekindle them when they were extinguished either accidentally or at fixed periods. The obligation appears to be only a particular case of a much more general rule which, among savage and barbarous as well as civilized peoples, enjoins a period of strict abstinence from sexual relations upon all persons engaged, or about to be engaged, in certain functions which are deemed to be of high importance for the welfare of the community, such as hunting, fishing, warfare, rain-

¹ Reading ὑπὸ Μαῖδων περὶ τὰ Μιθριδιακὰ for the MS. reading ὑπὸ Μήδων, περὶ δὲ τὰ Μιθριδιακὰ. In 88 B.C., or perhaps rather in 83 B.C., certain Illyrian tribes, including the Scordisci, the Maedi, and the Dardani, invaded Greece and sacked the sanctuary at Delphi (Appian, *Illyr.* i. 5); it is to this sack that Plutarch refers in the passage quoted above. See H. Pomptow, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F., li. (1896) p. 365; and my note on Pausanias, x. 19. 4 (vol. v. p. 331).

making, sowing, reaping, and a multitude of other occasions. Elsewhere I have collected many cases of such abstinence ;¹ but the list of examples there given might be extended indefinitely. Now in a primitive state of society, where fire is a necessity and the difficulty of procuring or kindling it is not inconsiderable, the maintenance of a perpetual fire is a function of public utility ; and it is therefore intelligible that the persons entrusted with the duty should be subjected to the same obligation of chastity which is enjoined on so many persons engaged in other important social functions. For example, at Rome itself the obligation of chastity was enjoined by serious Roman writers, not only on Vestals, but on bakers, cooks, and butlers. Thus the grave Columella, one of the best of ancient writers on agriculture, mentions by name several of these now forgotten authors who had sought to train up bakers, cooks, and butlers in the way they should go. "All of them", he says, "are of opinion that he who engages in any one of these occupations is bound to be chaste and continent, since everything depends on taking care that neither the dishes nor the food should be handled by any one above the age of puberty, or at least by any one who is not exceedingly abstemious in sexual matters. Therefore a man or woman who is sexually unclean ought to wash in a river or running water before he touches the contents of the storeroom. That is why the service of a boy or of a virgin is necessary to bring from the storeroom the things that are necessary." ²

The reasons which have led so many peoples, at such diverse stages of social and intellectual evolution, to impose a custom of temporary or permanent chastity in so great a variety of circumstances are not easy to discover ; but perhaps the original idea was that the exercise of the sexual function weakens the persons who engage in it and thereby temporarily incapacitates them for normal activities. At a higher stage of culture the conception of moral uncleanness reinforced that of physical weakness, and thereby set a double value on chastity, which now came to be regarded

¹ See *The Golden Bough*, vol. xii. pp. 214, 225 sq. *Index*, s.vv. "Chastity" and "Continence".

² Columella, *De re rustica*, xii. 4. 2 sq.

as in itself one of the highest virtues, an idea not only unknown but unintelligible to savages, who nevertheless observe for practical purposes a custom of continence in a multitude of cases where the civilized man would not dream of exacting it.

But apart from such a general motive there appear to be certain special reasons for enjoining a custom of continence on persons whose business it is to tend the fire and rekindle it when it is extinguished. In some parts of France the peasantry, who, as in all countries, retain in their customs and beliefs many relics of immemorial antiquity, think that if a girl can blow up a smouldering candle into a flame she is a virgin, but that if she fails to do so she is a maid no more.¹ The same superstition prevails widely in Germany.² In ancient Greece it was said of a vile man who led a life of debauchery that he was not worthy to blow up the sacred fire with his breath.³ Such notions may well date from a remote antiquity. If we could suppose that they were shared by the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans in prehistoric times, it might explain why at the height of their civilization both peoples exacted the observance of strict continence from the keepers of the sacred fire. As the chief duty of these persons was to nurse the holy flame, which they would naturally do by blowing on the embers, what calamity might not be expected to follow if the breath of the priestess issued from a polluted body? Would not the desecrated fire on the hearth expire in the ashes? Would not the defiled flame of the lamp flicker and die in the socket?

¹ J. Lecœur, *Esquisses du Bocage normand* (Condé-sur-Noireau, 1887), ii. 27; B. Souché, *Croyances, présages et traditions diverses* (Niort, 1880), p. 12.

² Fr. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (Munich, 1848-1855), i. 258, No. 27; J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* (Göttingen, 1852-1857), ii. 377; E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben* (Stuttgart, 1852), p. 504; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg* (Oldenburg, 1867), i. 90, ii. 67; I. v. Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes* (Innsbruck, 1871), p. 35; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*² (Berlin, 1869), p. 206, § 312; K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg* (Vienna, 1879-1880), ii. 58; P. Drechsler, *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien* (Leipzig, 1903-1906), i. 222.

³ Polybius, xii. 13. 1.

But to the primitive mind there is yet another link between the fire and the chastity of its ministers. In many, we may almost say in most, parts of the world the primitive mode of kindling fire is by means of a simple apparatus which is commonly and appropriately called the fire-drill.¹ It consists of two pieces of wood, of which one is pointed and the other flat, and the process consists in laying the flat piece on the ground and boring a hole in it with the other, which is held upright and twirled between the hands, until the force of the friction elicits sparks and ultimately a flame. This process is looked upon by many savages as analogous to the intercourse of the sexes; and accordingly they assign a sex to each of the fire-sticks, calling the pointed stick the male and the flat stick the female. In some cases the analogy between this process of fire-making and the intercourse of the sexes is logically carried out by entrusting the process to two persons of different sexes.²

Thus in Loango, a powerful native state of Western Africa, certain sacred fires were kept constantly burning by priests appointed for the purpose. But whenever the king of Loango died, all the fires in the country, including these sacred fires, were extinguished and might not be relit until a new fire had been kindled with solemn ceremony under the supervision of the new king. The interregnum, when the country was nominally under the rule of a regent or interrex, was a time of lawlessness and terror. The new fire was produced by the friction of two sticks, of which one, no doubt the borer, was called the male, while the other,

¹ W. Hough, *Fire as an Agent in Human Culture* (Washington, 1926), pp. 85 sqq.

² See *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 207 sqq.; and to the evidence there cited add E. Torday et T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo* (Bruxelles, 1910), p. 135; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Second Edition (London, 1927), ii. 34 sq.; E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), i. 143; A. Dandouan, *Contes populaires des Sakalava et des Tsimihety* (Algiers, 1922), p. 136 note ¹; R. Decary, "L'Industrie chez les Antandroy de Madagascar", *Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions populaires*, vii. (1926) p. 38; C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 68; G. Lindblom, *The Akamba* (Uppsala, 1920), p. 440; J. J. Dannholz, *Im Banne des Geisterglaubens* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 43; E. Brauer, *Züge aus der Religion der Herero* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 75 sqq.; J. Roscoe, *The Bakitara or Banyoro* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 47; *id.*, *The Bagesu* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 58; Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Birhors* (Ranchi, 1925), pp. 516 sq.

no doubt the board, was called the female. The operation of kindling the fire in this fashion was performed by a young man and a young woman, who had been brought up for the purpose and carefully guarded that they might not know the fate in store for them. They had to discharge this function with great solemnity in presence of the king, the court, and the assembled people, and afterwards they were compelled to have sexual intercourse with each other publicly before all the spectators. No sooner had they complied with the custom than they were seized and pushed into a hidden grave, which was immediately filled up, as many people as possible heaping earth upon the unhappy pair and screaming and shouting at the pitch of their voices to drown the cries of the victims; for it seems that if only they had been heard swearing by the head of the new king, their lives must have been spared.¹ In this case the analogy between the process of fire-making and the intercourse of the sexes is not only indicated by applying the same word (*kudyēmba*) to both operations, but is, or rather was, further carried out in practice by compelling the fire-makers to cohabit with each other.

Again, of the Djakuns, a wild tribe in the Malay Peninsula, we are told that when a party of them was on the march and intended either to pitch a temporary camp or to make a longer settlement, it was their custom to kindle the first fire for good luck by means of the fire-drill, which was worked by an unmarried girl and a married man, the girl holding a soft piece of wood on the ground, while the man twirled the borer vertically upon it. When a spark sprang from the wood, the girl fanned it into a flame either by blowing on it or by waving the piece of wood about quickly in her hand. Generally the girl who thus helped to make the fire was the daughter of the man who served the troop as leader; and her male assistant might be her father or any other married man. It was deemed very important, though not absolutely essential, that on the first night of a settlement the fire of every band should be thus lit by the unmarried daughter of a leader. But she might only discharge this duty if she

¹ *Die Loango-Expedition*, Dritte Abteilung, Zweite Hälfte, von Dr. E. Pechuel-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 170-173.

had not her monthly sickness on her at the time.¹ Again, among the Kachins of Burma, when people take possession of a new house, a new fire is made in front of it by a man and woman who work a fire-drill together. Each of them must be the fourth child of their family and must bear a particular name. They sit on the ground facing each other with the board between them; one of them holds the borer in his hands, the other grasps his wrists, and both of them together press the borer into the board till fire is elicited. This mode of kindling fire is said to have been revealed to men long ago by a spirit (*nat*) named Wun lawa Makam.² Again, among the Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula, when an epidemic was raging in a village, it used to be customary to extinguish all the fires on the hearths and to produce a new fire by the friction of wood. This was done by a girl and a boy, between the ages of eleven and fourteen, who, having stripped themselves of their clothes in a dark room, rubbed two pieces of lime-wood together till they took fire. Occasionally the fire was thus kindled, not by a boy and a girl, but by an old man and an old woman.³

Even when the fire-drill is worked by men alone, the qualifications required of the fire-makers plainly imply that the analogy of the process to the intercourse of the sexes is present to the minds of the persons who institute the proceedings; for sometimes it is a rule that the fire-makers should be married, but oftener that they should be chaste young men. Thus in the Scottish island of Lewis, when plague or murrain among the cattle broke out, it was deemed to be a sovereign remedy to extinguish all the fires in the parish and then to kindle a new fire by rubbing two great planks together, which was done by the joint efforts of eighty-one married men working in relays of nine.⁴ On the other hand, in similar circumstances, the Germans of Halbertstadt preferred to employ the services of two chaste boys, who made fire by

¹ H. Vaughan Stevens, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxviii. (1896) pp. 168 sq.

² Ch. Gilhodes, "La Culture matérielle des Katchins (Birmanie)," *Anthropos*, v. (1910) p. 629.

³ Prof. Vl. Titelbach, "Das heilige Feuer bei den Balkanslaven," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiii. (1900) pp. 2-4.

⁴ M. Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1808-1814), iii. 611.

pulling at a rope which ran round a wooden cylinder.¹ So among the Angami Nagas of Assam, as a remedy for sickness, a pig is killed and singed on a fire which has been kindled by two chaste boys, who draw a bamboo thong rapidly backwards and forwards through a split stick till a flame is elicited.² Again, among the Basutos of South Africa, after a birth had taken place, it used to be customary to kindle the fire of the hut afresh, and "for this purpose it was necessary that a young man of chaste habits should rub two pieces of wood quickly one against another, until a flame sprang up, pure as himself. It was firmly believed that a premature death awaited him who should dare to take upon himself this office after having lost his innocence. As soon, therefore, as a birth was proclaimed in the village, the fathers took their sons to undergo the ordeal. Those who felt themselves guilty confessed their crime, and submitted to be scourged rather than expose themselves to the consequences of a fatal temerity."³

Now we have seen⁴ that whenever the Vestal fire at Rome was accidentally extinguished, it had to be rekindled by the fire-drill, which was worked either by the Vestals alone or by the Vestals in conjunction with the Pontifex Maximus, for the words of Festus leave this point doubtful.⁵ The analogy of the instances cited above, in which the fire-drill is worked by a man and woman, or by a boy and girl, favours the view that the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus worked together at making the new fire, the Vestals holding the board of lucky wood on the ground, while the Pontifex Maximus twirled the borer between the palms of his hands. Indeed, wherever the use of the fire-drill was associated, as it seems to have commonly been, with the idea of sexual intercourse, it might naturally be thought to be improper and even indecent for a woman to usurp the man's function of

¹ J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, i. 504.

² J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 234, compare p. 56.

³ E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), pp. 267 sq.

⁴ Note on *Fasti*, iii. 143 (Vol. III. p. 38).

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Ignis", p. 94 ed. Lindsay, "*Ignis Vestae si quando interstinctus esset, virgines verberibus adficiebantur a pontifice, quibus mos erat tabulam felicis materiae tamdiu terebrare, quousque exceptum ignem cribro aeneo virgo in aedem ferret.*" Here the pronoun *quibus* may refer either to the Vestals alone or to the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus jointly. In strict grammar the latter interpretation seems preferable.

twirling the borer on the board. For that reason, apparently, some tribes have positively forbidden women to make fire in this fashion. Thus with regard to the Nandi of Kenya, in East Africa, we read that "fire is produced by means of fire-sticks (*piōnik*), a hard pointed stick being rapidly drilled into a small hole in a flat piece of soft wood. The hard stick is called *kirkik* (the male), and the soft piece of wood *kōket* (the female). Fire-making is the exclusive privilege of the men of the tribe."¹ So among the Akamba, another tribe of the same region, "fire was formerly made, and is still made on occasions, by hunters and others who rapidly rotate a piece of hard stick, held vertically between the hands, in a cup-shaped cavity cut in a piece of soft wood which is held between the toes, the friction generating enough heat to produce sparks which light some tinder. The vertical stick is called the male, and the other piece the female, the reasons for which nomenclature are obvious. It is curious to note that a woman is not allowed to make fire by friction, the reason given for this being that a man has to squat to make fire, and that if a woman does the same, it is unseemly, as she thereby exposes her nakedness. It is believed, however, that there is more in it than this, and that only a male is really supposed to manipulate the masculine portion of the fire-making apparatus."²

How far the ancestors of the Romans, in instituting an order of Vestals to guard the sacred fire, may have been influenced by the sexual ideas associated with their primitive apparatus for fire-making, the fire-drill, must always remain a matter of speculation; but whether that were so or not, it is certain that other peoples, who made fire in the same primitive fashion, instituted what we may call Vestal Virgins for the same purpose of tending the perpetual sacred fire. This was done, for example, by the Baganda of Central Africa, who, like so many savages, made fire by means of the fire-drill, and called the upright stick of the apparatus the male, and the horizontal stick the female.³ Now in their

¹ A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 85.

² C. W. Hobley, *Bantu Beliefs and Magic* (London, 1922), p. 68.

³ *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. p. 210.

country "in most of the temples there were a number of young girls dedicated to the god. Their special duties were to keep guard over the fire in the temple, which had to be kept burning by day and by night; to see that nothing which was taboo was brought into the temple; to provide an ample supply of firewood and water; to keep the grass floor-covering replenished; and especially to guard the sacred pipe and tobacco which were used by the medium before giving the oracle. The persons of these girls were sacred, and men had to be careful not to be unduly familiar with them, nor to attempt to take any liberties with them. These girls were brought to the temples when they were weaned; they were the offering of parents who had prayed to the god for children, promising to devote them to his service if he granted their request. When such a girl was born, she was dedicated to the god; and as soon as she was old enough to be separated from her mother she was brought into the temple-enclosure to live. She remained in office until she reached the age of puberty, when the god decided whom she was to marry. She was then removed from the temple, because no woman might enter a temple or have anything to do for the gods during her periods of menstruation; consequently the office of temple virgin was restricted to girls of immature years. The female mediums could not perform the temple duties nor act for the gods during their menses. The temples, like the king's house, were conical, with thatched roofs." ¹

Though the deity to whom these temple virgins were dedicated was not necessarily a fire-god, yet the resemblance between them and the Vestals, as the chaste guardians of a sacred and perpetual fire in a round temple, is otherwise close. In one respect, indeed, the African rule of their order was even more stringent than the Roman; for the African Vestals, as we may call them, were dedicated to the service of religion from their birth and were obliged to quit it at puberty, lest they should defile their sacred office by their monthly periods of infirmity. This last provision may partly explain why at Rome the duty of tending the sacred fire was never entrusted to a single virgin but always to a group or college of virgins;

¹ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 275 sq.

we may suppose that during mature life each of them was temporarily disqualified for the discharge of her ordinary duties by the periodic recurrence of her womanly weakness, and that so long as it lasted her place at the sacred hearth had to be taken by another. We have seen¹ that similarly among the wild Djakuns the leader's unmarried daughter might not kindle the camp fire while her monthly sickness was on her. Indeed, at many stages of culture menstruation has been regarded as an insuperable, though temporary, bar to the performance of a multitude of duties, especially of such as are esteemed sacred. The Romans themselves, as we know from Pliny,² were deeply imbued with this horror of menstruation, and it would be strange if they had exempted the Vestal Virgins from the disabilities which it must have entailed on other women.³

America as well as Africa had of old its Vestal Virgins. The Incas of Peru professed to be children of the Sun and to procure a new fire from their great father every year at the solstice in June. This fire they kindled, like the ancient Greeks, by holding towards the sun a hollow mirror which reflected his beams on a tinder of cotton wool. But if the sky chanced to be overcast at the time, they made the new fire by rubbing two sticks against each other; yet they looked on it as a bad omen when they were forced to do this, for they said that the Sun must surely be angry with them, since he refused to kindle the flame with his own hand. However obtained, the sacred fire was deposited at Cuzco, the capital of Peru, in the temple of the Sun, and also in a convent of holy virgins, who guarded it carefully throughout the year, and it was an evil augury if they suffered it to go out. These virgins were regarded as the wives of the Sun, and as such they were bound to perpetual chastity. If any one of them proved unfaithful to her divine spouse, the Sun, she was buried alive, like a Roman Vestal, and her paramour was strangled. Besides tending the holy fire, they had to weave and make all the clothes worn by the Inca and his legitimate wife, to bake the bread that was offered to the Sun at his

¹ Above, pp. 209 sq.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 64 sq., xxviii. 77 sqq.

³ See *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Bulder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 76 sqq.

great festivals, and to brew the wine which the Inca and his family drank on these occasions.¹

Again, in Yucatan there was an order of Vestals instituted by a princess, who acted as lady-superior and was deified after her death under the title of the Virgin of the Fire. The members enrolled themselves voluntarily either for life or for a term of years, after which they were free to marry. Their duty was to tend the sacred fire, the emblem of the sun. If they broke their vow of chastity or allowed the fire to go out, they were shot to death with arrows.² According to some authorities, a similar order of Vestals, vowed to chastity during their term of office under pain of death, shared with the priests the care of the two perpetual fires which burned on stone hearths on the summit of the great pyramidal temple at Mexico. But the older and better informed writers appear to imply that the duty of maintaining the sacred fires was discharged by men alone.³

VI. 285. **Juno and Ceres were born of Ops by Saturn's seed; the third daughter was Vesta.**—This is a piece of purely Greek mythology masquerading as Roman. Ovid had clearly in mind a passage of Hesiod, where that poet says that Rhea bore to her husband Cronus three daughters, Hestia, Demeter, and Hera.⁴ These daughters Ovid equates with Vesta, Ceres, and Juno, while he identifies their parents Cronus and Rhea with Saturn and Ops. Herein he merely followed the literary fashion of his day; of his equations the only one that is certainly well founded is that of Hestia with Vesta. The first Roman writer who identified

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, Part I. bk. iv. chaps. 1-3, bk. vi. chaps. 20-22 (vol. i. pp. 292-299, vol. ii. pp. 155-164, Markham's translation); P. de Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, p. 134 (Markham's translation); *id.*, *Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*, pp. 85 sq. (Markham's translation); Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, bk. v. chap. 15 (vol. ii. pp. 331-333, Hakluyt Society). The accuracy of Garcilasso's account of these Peruvian Vestals was questioned by (Sir) E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*³ (London, 1878), pp. 249-253. But see *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 244 sq.

² Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale* (Paris, 1857-1859), ii. 6; H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America* (London, 1875-1876), iii. 473.

³ *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. p. 245, with the references.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 453 sq.; compare Apollodorus, i. 1. 5.

Cronus and Rhea with Saturn and Ops seems to have been Ennius in his *Euhemerus*, a translation from the Greek.¹

VI. 291 **Conceive of Vesta as naught but the living flame.**—After identifying Vesta with the earth (line 267), Ovid suddenly shifts his ground and identifies her with the flame. In so doing he came much nearer the truth, though she was not the goddess of fire in general, but only of fire on the hearth. If there could be any doubt on this point, it would be settled by the analogy of her Greek counterpart Hestia, whose name means nothing but hearth. The worship of the two sister goddesses has been discussed in a learned and elaborate monograph by a German scholar, Dr. August Preuner.²

VI. 292. **You see that no bodies are born of flame.**—The same physical explanation of the virginity of Vesta is applied by Cornutus to the virginity of her Greek sister Hestia.³ Augustine reports the opinion that Vesta, being identical with the fire, "was served by virgins because nothing is born of the fire, just as nothing is born of a virgin".⁴ The present passage of Ovid is quoted by Lactantius,⁵ who objects to this explanation of Vesta's virginity that it would apply equally to the fire-god Vulcan, who nevertheless was married, and to the Sun, whose heat is yet necessary for the birth and growth of all things.

VI. 295. **Long did I foolishly think that there were images of Vesta: afterwards I learned that there are none under her curved dome.**—Inconsistent at first sight with this is the statement of Cicero that the Pontifex Maximus, Q. Mucius Scaevola, was murdered before the image of Vesta,⁶ and that the image was even bespattered with his blood.⁷ But Livy says that the murder took place in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta,⁸ and there may very well have been an image of the goddess in the vestibule, though not in the temple itself. We have seen that at the entrance to the House of the Vestals, a few yards from the temple of Vesta,

¹ Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 13 sq.

² A. Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta, ein Cyclus religions-geschichtlicher Forschungen* (Tübingen, 1864).

³ Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, p. 52 ed. Lang. See also above, pp. 204 sq.

⁴ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 10.

⁵ Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 12.

⁶ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 32. 8.

⁷ Cicero, *De oratore*, iii. 3. 10.

⁸ Livy, *Per.* lxxxvi.

there stood in Imperial times a shrine, which is thought to have contained an image of the goddess,¹ and there seems no reason why in 82 B.C., when Scaevola was murdered, there should not have stood an image of Vesta in front of her temple. As a contemporary and admirer of the murdered pontiff, Cicero was likely to be well acquainted with the scene of the tragedy; he delivered the first of his extant speeches the very year after the death of Scaevola. However, the historians vary as to the exact spot where the eminent jurist fell by the hand of the executioner or rather of the assassin. The time was in the very heat of the internecine struggle between the Marian and the Sullan factions. The younger Marius, like a wolf at bay, had taken refuge in the strong fortress of Praeneste, which was blockaded by the troops of Sulla. But with death staring him in the face he resolved to sell his life dearly; so he contrived to send a messenger through the lines of the besiegers to his partisan in Rome, the City Praetor, Lucius Brutus Damasippus, with orders to massacre all that was left of the aristocratic party in Rome. The order was obeyed. The Praetor summoned the Senate under some pretext, and having thus trapped his victims he sent in soldiers with swords, who cut them down on the floor of the Senate-house. Some of the doomed men ran for the door; one of them was butchered in the very doorway; old Scaevola ran a little farther, before he was overtaken and despatched; their bodies were dragged with hooks by the hangman through the streets and thrown into the Tiber.² It would seem that Scaevola, as Pontifex Maximus and priest of Vesta, ran for the temple of the goddess whom he served, hoping to find sanctuary at, if not within, the sacred walls; he had not very far to run and had reached the very precinct when the slayer came up with him. The proximity of the holy temple, with its unpolluted fire, added to the horror of the deed. Later rhetorical writers speak of the venerable pontiff embracing the altar and almost extinguishing the sacred fire with his blood.³ But no inference can be drawn

¹ Above, pp. 192 sq.

² Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 10. 88; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 26. 2; Orosius, v. 20. 4.

³ Lucan, ii. 126-129; Florus, ii. 9. 20 sq.; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iii. 28.

from the accounts of his death as to the presence of an image of Vesta in her temple.

Nor can the existence of such an image be inferred from Republican coins of about 60 and 54 B.C., on the obverse of which figures a veiled head of Vesta; indeed, the opposite inference may rather be drawn from them, for in some of these coins the reverse exhibits the temple of Vesta with the door open and no image within it.¹ But it is to be observed that on these coins the apex of the roof of the temple is surmounted by a female figure standing apparently in the same attitude as the statues of Vestals which have been discovered in their house.² It is therefore possible that the actual temple of Vesta supported on the roof an image of the goddess in this attitude, and that Cicero referred to it when he said that Scaevola was slain in front of it, though in that case the orator must have been guilty of a gross rhetorical exaggeration when he spoke of the image being bespattered with the blood of the murdered priest.

But there is independent evidence for believing that another ancient image of Vesta stood near the Forum. We know from the indisputable testimony of Varro that in his time the twelve great Roman gods (*dii consentes*), six male and six female, were represented by twelve gilt statues at the Forum.³ Further, we know from the unexceptionable evidence of Ennius that Vesta was one of these twelve great deities.⁴ Hence it follows with something like certainty that an image of Vesta was one of the twelve gilded images seen and described by Varro. The place where the images stood, at least in the later times of antiquity, was a portico or colonnade at the foot of the Capitol facing in the direction of the Forum. From an inscription carved on the architrave of the portico we learn that the building, together with the sacred images (*sacrosancta simulacra*) of the twelve gods, was restored in A.D. 367 by the Prefect of the City, Vettius

¹ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, i. 331-333.

² See above, pp. 191 sq.

³ Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, i. 1. 4.

⁴ As quoted by Apuleius (*De deo Socratis*, 2) and Martianus Capella (i. 42), the list of the twelve gods given by Ennius was this:

"*Iuno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, Iovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*"

Praetextatus,¹ an ardent champion of expiring paganism. The portico has again been restored in modern times and forms a conspicuous feature among the ruins at the eastern foot of the Capitol. It stands next to the temple of Vespasian in the obtuse angle formed by the Tabularium and the Capitoline Slope (*Clivus Capitolinus*), which led up from the Forum to the summit of the hill. On the platform is a row of small rooms, about 13 feet high and rather less deep, made of concrete faced with brick. They are arranged in two wings which meet each other at an obtuse angle. The rooms of the one wing are built against the rock of the Tabularium; the rooms of the other wing are built against the retaining wall of the Capitoline Slope. Of the rooms seven have been excavated; the rest, probably five in number, are buried under the houses on the western side of the Slope. These twelve rooms may have been chapels containing the twelve images of the gods. In front of them stands the portico comprising nine columns of the Corinthian order with their architrave, on which the inscription recording the restoration of the edifice may still be read. The marble columns are original; the columns of travertine are modern.²

If it is probable that an image of Vesta occupied one of these chapels we have still to ask, how was the goddess represented? An ingenious answer has been suggested by Salomon Reinach. In the parish church of Mavilly (Côte-d'Or) two quadrangular blocks of stone, carved with a relief of the Gallo-Roman period, formerly supported an altar; hence the relief is known as the altar of Mavilly, though it is now in the park of a chateau at Savigny-sous-Beaune. A cast of it may be seen in the great museum of prehistoric antiquities at Saint-Germain. On these stones are carved in relief the figures of twelve anthropomorphic deities, some male, some female, whom Reinach identifies with the twelve great gods of Rome (the *dii consentes*). The identification

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 4003.

² H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 366 sq.; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 341 sq.; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 294 sq.; E. Petersen, *Vom alten Rom* ⁴, pp. 37 sq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* ², pp. 79 sq.; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter ², pp. 90 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* ², pp. 177 sq.

of some of the deities, including Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Mars, and Ceres, appears to be fairly certain; the identification of others is more doubtful. Among the doubtful figures is one which Reinach takes to be Vesta. It is an erect figure, fully clothed, holding the hands so as to cover the eyes. But the figure stands behind another, interpreted by Reinach as Juno, which conceals the lower part of the supposed Vesta. The attitude of Vesta, if Vesta it is, reminds us, as Reinach justly says, of the remark of Ovid that, when the Vestal virgin Silvia gave birth to the twins, the images of Vesta covered their eyes with their virgin hands in horror at the sight.¹ In saying this, Ovid, according to Reinach, was describing an image of Vesta in the attitude of the mysterious figure on the altar of Mavilly, but the poet misinterpreted the attitude; in reality the goddess was putting her hands to her eyes to protect them from the pungent smoke of her sacred fire. The theory is ingenious and may be correct, but in the doubt attaching to the interpretation of this particular figure and of others on the altar, it cannot be regarded as established.²

VI. 299. *Vesta* is so called from standing by power.—The derivation of the name *Vesta* from *vi stando*, "standing by power", is of course absurd. Similarly Cornutus derived the corresponding Greek name Hestia from *hestanai dia pantos*, "standing for ever".³ Cicero supposed that the Latin name *Vesta* was borrowed from the Greek, being identical with Hestia,⁴ and this etymology is mentioned as an alternative by Servius.⁵ Though the name *Vesta* was certainly not borrowed from the Greek, we may acquiesce in the etymological identity of *Vesta* and Hestia, despite certain philological difficulties in the way of the equation.⁶

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 45 sq.

² S. Reinach, "L'Autel de Mavilly et l'image de la Vesta romaine", *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, iii. (Paris, 1908) pp. 191-207. The theory is adversely criticized by J. Toutain (*Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire Romain*, iii. 286-291) and G. Wissowa (s.v. "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 270 sq.).

³ Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, p. 52 ed. Lang.

⁴ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 68.

⁵ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 292.

⁶ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 157 note ²; *id.*, s.v. "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 242 sq.

VI 301. the hearth (*focus*) is so named . . . because it fosters (*fovet*) all things.—This derivation was accepted by Varro, as we learn from Servius.¹ It is also recorded by Festus.²

VI. 303. Hence, too, I am of opinion that the vestibule took its name.—In Roman houses of the grander sort the vestibule was an empty and unroofed space between the house-door and the street; the walls of the house enclosed it on either hand, but it was open to the street. In this recess morning-callers used to wait till the door was opened and the great man was ready to receive them. Ordinary houses had no vestibule; in them the house-door did not stand back from the street but was flush with it and opened directly on it.³ Ovid derives the word vestibule (*vestibulum*) from Vesta, because he thought that the hearth was originally in the front part of the house, and that, as goddess of the hearth, Vesta used to have her place there also. But this would seem to be merely a guess of his own to explain the word vestibule. Ordinarily the hearth was in the middle of the large inner room called the atrium, and the smoke escaped, not by a chimney, but by the opening in the roof called the *impluvium*.⁴ Aulus Gellius and Macrobius derive the name vestibule from the particle *ve*, "much" and *stabulatio*, "standing",⁵ with reference to the much standing of the unfortunate callers and social hangers-on, who were left to cool their heels in the sharp morning air outside the door till the flunkey thought fit to throw it open and usher them into the presence of his master. Both derivations of the word are mentioned by Nonius Marcellus.⁶

VI. 303. in praying we begin by addressing Vesta.—Cicero, on the contrary, says that Janus was the first and Vesta the last to be mentioned in prayers and that she was the last to receive sacrifice.⁷ So far as Vesta is concerned, the

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 21.

² Festus, *s.v.* "Focus", p. 75 ed. Lindsay.

³ Aulus Gellius, xvi. 5; Macrobius, *Saturn.* vi. 8. 14-23; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*², pp. 224 *sqq.*

⁴ W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*², i. 670; W. Ramsay, *Manual of Roman Antiquities*¹, p. 464.

⁵ Aulus Gellius, xvi. 5; Macrobius, *Saturn.* vi. 8. 14-23.

⁶ Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Vestibula", p. 75 ed. Lindsay.

⁷ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 27. 67.

orator's practice conformed to his theory. For in the solemn peroration of his speech *For his House*, he prays the gods to bear witness to the services he had rendered, at the risk of his life, to his native land; and in this prayer, while he omits Janus and begins with Capitoline Jupiter, he ends with the mention of "Mother Vesta, whose most chaste priestesses I defended from the fury and wickedness of frenzied men, and whose eternal fire I suffered not to be quenched with the blood of my countrymen or to be swallowed up in the blaze of the whole city".¹ Similarly Velleius Paterculus concludes his history with a prayer to Capitoline Jupiter, Marching (*Gradivus*) Mars, and "Vesta, guardian of the perpetual fires";² and Virgil ends his first *Georgic* with a prayer to "Gods of my fathers, gods of my native land, and Romulus, and Vesta, who dost guard the Tuscan Tiber and the Roman Palatine".³ More strictly orthodox, as might have been expected, was the Sacred College of the Arval Brothers, who, when trees were struck by lightning in their sacred grove, or a fig tree grew on the roof of the temple and had to be uprooted, offered sacrifices to the gods and goddesses in their correct order, beginning with Father Janus and winding up with Mother Vesta.⁴ Orthodox, too, was the Roman lady, in whose veins ran the blue blood of the Lamiae and the Appii, when at the altar, over the sacrifice of a lamb, she inquired of Janus and Vesta whether a musician, in whom she was tenderly interested, was likely to carry off the prize in a musical competition. The satirist, who records this anxious inquiry, thought that in his day the gods in heaven had nothing better to do than to answer such questions.⁵

Though Ovid tells us, in contradiction to these instances, that the rule was to begin a prayer with Vesta, he did not comply with his own precept when, writing the last lines of his greatest work, the *Metamorphoses*, he anticipated, not unjustly, for it and for himself an immortality of fame, and prayed the gods to spare the life of Augustus for many long years to come; for in this prayer he mentions Quirinus and

¹ Cicero, *Pro domo sua*, 57. 144 sq.

² Velleius Paterculus, ii. 131.

³ Virgil, *Georg.* i. 498 sqq.

⁴ G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. clxxxvi sq., ccxiii sq.; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5047, 5048.

⁵ Juvenal, vi. 385-397.

Mars and a number of minor divinities before Vesta, and he is so forgetful of the true order of merit that he suffers Jupiter himself to bring up the rear.¹

Perhaps, in assigning to Vesta the first place in prayer, Ovid was thinking of Greek usage; for in Greek ritual it was in fact customary to begin both prayers and sacrifices with Hestia, the counterpart of Vesta. Thus in the great sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, which may be taken as a pattern of religious orthodoxy, there stood many altars dedicated to many different gods, and on them sacrifices were offered in a prescribed order, always beginning with the altar of Hestia; even Zeus himself had to be content with a second place.² But the custom of sacrificing to Hestia before all the gods was not confined to Olympia; Plato refers to it in terms which seem to show that it was general in Greece.³ In a fragment of his lost play *Phaethon*, Euripides introduces one of his characters saying that every wise man would wish to begin his prayers with Hestia.⁴ Again, in the parody of a prayer which the priest in Aristophanes addresses to the new-fangled bird-gods, the first divinity addressed is the bird-goddess Hestia.⁵ Hence "to begin with Hestia" passed into a proverb with the Greeks; it was used, for example, by Plato in his discussion of the etymology of the names of the gods; for he introduces the discussion with the remark, "Let us begin with Hestia, in accordance with custom".⁶ To explain the proverb Gregorius Cyprius refers to the custom of sacrificing to Hestia before all the other gods, and he adds a mythical account of the origin of the custom. They say that after the rule of the Titans had been put down, Zeus succeeded to the kingdom and allowed Hestia to choose whatever she liked. She asked for virginity and to receive the offering of first-fruits from men.⁷

VI. 305. It used to be the custom of old to sit on long

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 861 sqq.

² Pausanias, v. 14. 4.

³ Plato, *Cratylus*, 18, p. 401 D.

⁴ *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², No. 781, p. 608.

⁵ Aristophanes, *Birds*, 864.

⁶ Plato, *Cratylus*, 18, p. 401 B.

⁷ Gregorius Cyprius, *Cent.* i. 63; compare Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 40 (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, vol. i. p. 14, vol. ii. p. 62). See further A. Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta* (Tübingen, 1864), pp. 9 sqq.

benches in front of the hearth and to suppose that the gods were present at table.—The hearth of which Ovid here speaks is of course the domestic hearth, and the gods who were thought to be present at table were Vesta, the Penates, and the Lares. For Vesta was the goddess, not merely of the public hearth in the temple, but of the hearth in every private house; indeed, we may reasonably assume that she was adored in the humbler capacity of a domestic deity before she was exalted to the rank of a national goddess and enshrined in a central sanctuary. Hence Ovid a few lines below (line 317) calls Vesta “the mistress of hearths”, and tells us that the baker worshipped her at the hearth on which in old days the bread used to be baked. The close association of the Penates with the hearth appears from the statement of Servius that the hearth was their altar,¹ and it is further indicated by the common coupling together of altars, hearths, Lares and Penates in rhetorical appeals to the susceptible bosoms of jurymen and other emotional audiences.² In the same pathetic vein Ovid describes how, at the announcement of his banishment, his wife, with streaming hair, cast herself before the Lares, kissed with quivering lip the hearth where the fire was dead, and poured forth vain complaints to the Penates.³ Horace speaks of the joy of country suppers partaken of before the image of the household Lar.⁴ “Let the bailiff”, says Columella, “accustom the swains always to take their supper about their master’s Lar and family hearth, and let him likewise take his own supper in sight of them and give an example of frugality.”⁵

VI. 307. when sacrifices are offered to ancient Vacuna.—Writing from his home in the Sabine hills an immortal letter, instinct with love of the country, to a city friend who did not share his rural tastes, Horace concludes by saying that he

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 211.

² See, for examples, Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 69. 145, *Philipp.* ii. 29. 72, ii. 30. 75, xi. 4. 10, xiii. 7. 16, *Pro Roscio Amerino*, 8. 23, *Pro domo sua*, §§ 106, 109, 143.

³ Ovid, *Tristia*, i. 3. 43-46.

⁴ Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6. 60-67.

⁵ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 1. 19. See further, G. Wissowa, s.v. “Lares”, in W. H. Roscher’s *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1876 sqq.; *id.* s.v. “Penates”, *ibid.* iii. 1882 sqq.; *id.* s.v. “Vesta”, *ibid.* vi. 244 sq.

had dictated the letter "behind Vacuna's mouldering fane".¹ On this passage his old scholiast Porphyrius remarks² that Vacuna was a Sabine goddess of uncertain form and nature; some thought that she was Bellona, others Minerva, and others Diana. In the first book of his lost work, *The Antiquities of Divine Things*, Varro identified her with Victory.³ The statement that she was a Sabine goddess is confirmed by several inscriptions found in the Sabine country, for they contain dedications to her.⁴ One of them, found near Reate, records the vow of two persons to Vacuna for the return of a certain L. Acestus from Africa.⁵ Another,⁶ also found near Reate, records the vow of a certain Esuvius Modestus for the health of his father. The latter vow suggests that Vacuna was a medical goddess, endowed with healing power.

Now we know from Pliny that Vacuna had a grove in the Sabine country near to the river Avens (the modern *Velino*) and to Reate, and that in the territory of Reate there was a lake called the lake of Cutilia or Cutiliae, which Varro regarded as the navel or central point of Italy, and in which there was a wooded and floating island.⁷ Seneca tells us that he had seen the island, and that, though it was clothed with grass and trees, it never remained stationary but floated hither and thither with every breath of wind. This property he attributed in part to the weight of the water, which he describes as medicated.⁸ The lake of Cutilia, with its moving island, is mentioned by Varro,⁹ and is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁰ and Macrobius,¹¹ who confirm Seneca's account of the floating island, except that according to Dionysius only grass and some inconsiderable bushes grew on it, and the island stood

¹ Horace, *Epist.* i. 10. 49.

² Porphyrius, on Horace, *Epist.* i. 10. 49, p. 278 ed. G. Meyer.

³ Varro, *Antiquitatum rerum divinarum libri*, ed. R. Agahd (Lipsiae, 1898), p. 141 (quoting Acron, on Horace, *Epist.* i. 10. 49).

⁴ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3484, 3485, 3486, 9248.

⁵ H. Dessau, *op. cit.* No. 3486.

⁶ H. Dessau, *op. cit.* No. 3485.

⁷ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 209, iii. 109.

⁸ Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* iii. 25. 8 sq. "*aquae gravitas medicatae, ob hoc ponderosae*".

⁹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 71.

¹⁰ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 15.

¹¹ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 7. 28 sq.

not more than a foot above the level of the lake. Dionysius tells us further that the natives regarded the lake as bottomless and as sacred to Victory (*Nike*), and that in consequence they surrounded the water with fillets and allowed nobody to approach it except at certain times of the year, when religious rites were performed. At these times sacrifices were offered on the floating island by persons who might lawfully do so. Now since in this part of his work, which describes the first settlement of the aborigines in the heart of Italy, Dionysius is professedly following the *Antiquities* of Varro,¹ it becomes highly probable that the goddess of the lake, whom Dionysius calls Victory, was no other than Vacuna, whom Varro, as we saw, identified with Victory.

Strabo informs us that the water of Cutilia was cold, and that people drank it and sat in it for the healing of disease.² He does not indeed mention the lake but only the waters at Cotiliae (Cutilia), which was a town on a hill near the lake.³ This water at Cutilia in the Sabine country is described by Pliny as so excessively cold that it almost seemed to bite the drinker, yet as extremely salubrious for the stomach, the sinews, and indeed the whole body;⁴ further he says that it was of a nitrous quality and purgative in its effect.⁵ The same statement had previously been made by Vitruvius, from whom Pliny may have borrowed it.⁶ Celsus recommended standing "in cold medical springs like those at Cutiliae" as a remedy for looseness of the bowels.⁷

The purgative effect of the water of Cutilia was experienced with fatal results by the Emperor Vespasian. Being a native of the Sabine country, for he was born at a small village near Reate,⁸ it was his habit to pass the hot months of the Italian summer among his native mountains at Cutilia and in the country about Reate. In the last year of his life (A.D. 79), being troubled with a slight indisposition in Campania, he returned in haste to Rome, and from there rode or was carried up to the scenes of his youth at Cutilia and the neighbourhood. There, as a remedy for the

¹ Dionysius, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 14. 1.

² Strabo, v. 3. 1, p. 228.

³ Dionysius, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 15. 1.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 10.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxi. 59.

⁶ Vitruvius, viii. 3. 5.

⁷ Celsus, *De medicina*, iv. 12. p. 137 ed. Daremberg.

⁸ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 2.

sickness which increased upon him, he took frequent draughts of the ice-cold water, and though they had no effect in abating his malady, he continued to discharge his imperial duties lying in bed, where he gave audience to embassies. But at last he was seized with a fit of diarrhoea so violent that he almost swooned. Feeling the hand of death upon him, he said, "An emperor should die standing". So saying, he struggled to his feet and, with the support of his attendants, died standing like an emperor and a soldier.¹

The emperor was not the only victim of the cold water cure, which had been made fashionable by Antonius Musa, physician to Augustus. Having recalled his imperial master from the gates of death by cold baths and copious draughts of cold water in the style of Doctor Sangrado, the Roman doctor blossomed out into fame: the Emperor rewarded him liberally: the Senate showered money and honours on him: his admirers subscribed for a portrait-statue of the good physician, which was set up beside that of his divine prototype Aesculapius.² Cold water now became the rage and the last word of medical science. The fashionable doctor compelled poor Horace, shivering and shuddering, to submit to cold douches in the depth of winter, when he longed for the sunshine and the myrtle-groves of Baiae.³ But Musa tried his nostrum once too often, when he applied it to the youthful Marcellus, the hope of Rome and perhaps the destined heir of the empire; for the young man succumbed to the cure.⁴

On the whole it appears that for a time the cold medicinal springs of Cutilia in the Sabine hills were resorted to by the sick, who both drank the water and bathed in it for the sake of their health. Perhaps, on the days when sacrifices were offered to the goddess on the island, and the holy lake was opened to the public, the patients were allowed to plunge into its healing water, like the impotent folk at the pool of Bethesda;⁵ and as the curative property of the pool at Jerusalem was ascribed to an angel who went down at a

¹ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 24; compare Dio Cassius, lxi. vol. viii. p. 294 ed. Cary.

² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 59 and 81; Dio Cassius, liii. 30

³ Horace, *Epist.* i. 15. 1 *sqq.*

⁴ Dio Cassius, liii. 30.

⁵ St. John, v.

certain season into the pool and troubled the water, so we may suppose that at Cutilia the sick who survived the cold plunge attributed their deliverance to the divine Lady of the Lake, the goddess Vacuna. From Ovid we learn that, when sacrifices were offered to Vacuna, people stood and sat in front of her sacred hearth. If the present view of Vacuna is correct, we may suppose that these worshippers were the visitors to the Spa who had benefited by the waters, and who testified their gratitude to the goddess for their cure by joining in a thanksgiving service. And when we remember the purgative effect of the water and the melancholy fate of Vespasian, we shall perhaps not go far astray if we conjecture that the name and the function of Vacuna, the goddess of the water, had reference *ad evacuandam alvum*.¹ In that case we need not wonder that Horace, who had suffered from her, allowed her shrine at the back of his house in the country to fall into decay. Yet long after the poet's ashes had been laid beside those of his friend Maecenas on the Esquiline,² the Emperor Vespasian, who had even less reason than Horace to be grateful to Vacuna, appears to have repaired her forlorn and ruined shrine; for in the valley of the Digentia, which flowed through or near Horace's farm, and at the village of Rocca Giovine, there was found an inscription recording that the Emperor Vespasian had restored at his own expense the temple of Victory, which had fallen into ruin through long lapse of time.³ When we bear in mind that Vacuna was identified with Victory by Varro, we need not hesitate to believe that this ruined temple of Victory was no other than "the mouldering fane of Vacuna" mentioned by Horace. In after ages, when the memory of Vacuna and her drastic water had faded from the minds even of the learned, the poet Ausonius used her name as a synonym for leisure,⁴ evidently deriving her name from *vacare* in the sense of "to be at leisure".⁵

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xx. 52.

² Suetonius, *Vita Horati* (Suetonius, ed. J. C. Rolfe, vol. ii. p. 490).

³ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3813, "*Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Aug. Pontifex Maximus, trib. potestatis, censor aedem Victoriae vetustate dilapsam sua impensa restituit*".

⁴ Ausonius, *Epist.* xiv. vol. ii. p. 52 ed. H. G. E. White.

⁵ As to Vacuna see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 408-410; *id.*, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1864), pp. 256-266; G. Wissowa, *Religion und*

Built into the wall of the palace of the Marchese di Roccagiovine, at the town of that name, is a bas-relief representing a female figure, clad in tunic and mantle, facing to the front and clasping in her right hand the forelegs of a deer. The relief is not far from the inscription which commemorates Vespasian's restoration of the temple of Victory (Vacuna ?); and Mr. A. W. van Buren would interpret the female figure as Vacuna herself in an aspect resembling that of Diana as Mistress of Wild Things.¹ If he is right, the probability is increased that the shrine of Vacuna was at or near the site of the modern village of Rocca Giovine. In that case Horace's Sabine farm cannot have been far off. Professor R. S. Conway would identify the farmstead or villa with some low walls built in the network style (*opus reticulatum*), which are situated about a mile or so farther up the valley of the Digentia. "The site lies on a shoulder of Monte Gennaro, high above, and a quarter of a mile away from, the west bank of the Digentia, just where the stream is joined by a smaller brook coming down from the west, behind, *i.e.* to the north of, Monte Gennaro; so that this side valley, down behind the farm, provides excellent shade from midday onwards. The farm itself is separated on the east from the main Digentia valley by a small hillock covered with chestnut-trees. . . . It is sheltered from the east wind by the trees of the hillock, from the west by the slope of Monte Gennaro which lifts two beautiful rocky peaks some 2000 feet above; and from the north by the mass of the Sabine hills which rise steeply and bleakly behind the branch valley. . . . About a mile or so further down the Digentia valley, the mountain wall on the west is broken, or nicked, high up, by a small gap in which lies the village of Rocca Giovane,

*Kultus der Römer*², p. 49 note⁵; *id.*, *s.v.* "Vacuna", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 151-153. Compare H. Nissen; *Italische Landeskunde* (Berlin, 1883-1902), ii. 1. pp. 475 *sq.* Preller also would derive the name Vacuna from *vacuo*, "to empty", but in the sense of draining the valley of Reate of its superfluous waters by conveying them through the river Avens (the modern *Velino*) into the Tiber. This beneficent operation, to which the valley owed its fertility, the grateful dalesmen ascribed, on Preller's view, to the direct intervention of the goddess.

¹ A. W. van Buren, "Vacuna", *Journal of Roman Studies*, vi. (1916) pp. 202-204, with photographs of the bas-relief and the inscription (figures 14 and 15).

occupying the site of the ancient temple of Vacuna. This can be reached by a path along the grassy and rocky hill-side."¹

VI. 310. **a clean platter contains the food offered to Vesta.**—Similarly, the food offered to the Lares was served on a platter.² In both cases the verb *mittere* is understood by Wissowa to imply that the master or mistress of the house, sitting at the head of the table and farthest from the hearth, took up the platter containing the offering of food, and either handed it to a slave or passed it from hand to hand to the person sitting at the lowest end of the table, who set it on the hearth for the consumption of the Lares or Vesta.³

VI. 311. **loaves are hung on asses decked with wreaths.**—Speaking of the simple ways of old, when the site of Rome was naught but a grassy hill, Propertius says that Vesta was then poor and delighted in wreathed asses.⁴ From the words of Ovid here and below (line 347), confirmed by the Pompeian wall-painting,⁵ we gather that the wreath consisted of small loaves strung together and hung round the neck of the ass in token that he was released from his labours in the mill for the day. But the animals were also decked with violets.⁶

VI. 312. **flowery garlands deck the rough millstones.**—This decking of the millstones with flowers on the holiday may well be, as Professor H. J. Rose thinks, an act of worship offered by millers to the mills by which they gained their livelihood.⁷ We have seen that in India to this day at festivals artisans regularly worship the tools of their trade.⁸

VI. 313. **Husbandmen used formerly to toast only spelt in the ovens.**—Ovid means that in the olden time the oven was used only for toasting the grain and not, as afterwards, for baking bread, which in those ancient days was baked in the ashes on the hearth (lines 315-316). Seneca may have had the present passage of Ovid in mind when, in tracing the history

¹ R. S. Conway, "The Country Haunts of Horace", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. xii. No. 1, January 1928, pp. 25-28, with photographs (figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5).

² Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 634.

³ G. Wissowa, s.v. "Vesta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 245.

⁴ Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 21.

⁵ See above, p. 176.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 469.

⁷ H. J. Rose, "Italian 'Sondergötter'", *Journal of Roman Studies*, iii. (1913) pp. 236 sq.

⁸ See note on *Fasti*, ii. 525.

of human inventions as conceived by Posidonius, he observes that "bread was first baked on warm ashes and a hot tile; afterwards ovens were gradually invented".¹

VI. 314. **the goddess of ovens has her own special rites.**—This goddess has already been mentioned by Ovid.²

VI. 318. **the millstones of pumice.**—We cannot suppose that millstones were ever made of so soft and friable a stone as what we call pumice. Ovid must have meant a much harder stone. In the *Moretum*, attributed to Virgil, the millstones are called *silices*,³ which means not flint but lava. Abundance of lava was to be had at Rome, poured out from the extinct volcanoes in the neighbourhood.⁴ Pliny says that the stone used for mills was called *pyrites*, because it contained much fire.⁵

VI. 319. **Shall I pass over or relate thy disgrace, rubicund Priapus?**—The following story, purporting to explain why asses were sacrificed at Lampsacus on the Hellespont, has already been told by Ovid in the first book⁶ with only a change of names, Silenus and Lotis being there substituted for Priapus and Vesta. The commentators are doubtless right in thinking that, if the poet had lived to revise his poem, he would have struck out one or other of the duplicate versions.

VI. 321. **Cybele, whose brow is crowned with a coronet of towers.**—Cybele's crown of towers has already been mentioned by the poet.⁷

VI. 333. **the ruddy guardian of gardens.**—This is the red-painted figure of Priapus.⁸

VI. 350. **I will explain the meaning of an altar of Baker Jupiter.**—The following story of the institution of an altar to Baker Jupiter on the Capitol is told briefly by Lactantius⁹ in a chapter of his work in which he makes merry over the names of certain Roman gods and goddesses, such as Muta, Stercorius, and Cloacina. Among them Baker Jupiter offered himself as a convenient target for the shafts

¹ Seneca, *Epist.* xc. 23.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 525, with the note.

³ Virgil, *Moretum*, 23, 27.

⁴ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 8.

⁵ Pliny, *Natur. Hist.* xxxvi. 137.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 391-440.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 219 sq., with the note.

⁸ Compare *Fasti*, i. 415.

⁹ Lactantius, *Divin. Instit.* i. 20.

of Christian ridicule. Livy mentions the famine endured by the garrison of the Capitol when the Gauls occupied Rome in 390 B.C.; and he says that to conceal the straits to which they were reduced the Romans threw many loaves down to the enemy's sentinels in the valley, but he says nothing about Baker Jupiter, whom he would seem to have regarded as beneath the dignity of history.¹ Modern mythologists have been much put to it to rescue the head of the Roman pantheon from the indignity apparently implied by the epithet. The learned Merkel, who confessed that the epithet of Baker applied to Jupiter had often caused him mental anguish, quoted a passage of Servius, in which that commentator relates how, during the Gallic siege, the Romans in the Capitol were reduced to gnawing sodden hides to relieve the pangs of hunger, and how, when the siege was raised, they set up an altar of Saviour (*Soter*) Jupiter on the Capitol, on which they burned what was left of the hides; the altar was still standing in Servius's day.² In confirmation of this story Merkel quoted an inscription recording a dedication to Saviour (*Conservator*) Jupiter by the guild of Wheat-bakers (*Colleg. Siliginariorum*) for the safety of the Emperor Caesar Augustus. This inscription, which is not included in Dessau's comprehensive selection of Roman inscriptions, was found at Rome in front of the Church of St. Lorenzo, according to Merkel, and he refused to admit the suspicion of its forgery. Putting the inscription and the testimony of Servius together, Merkel concluded that the official title of Jupiter at his altar on the Capitol was Saviour (*Conservator*), but that he was at the same time the patron of bakers and therefore received himself the name of Baker.³ This does not seem to mend matters much; so later mythologists have endeavoured to save Jupiter's dignity by supposing that applied to him the epithet *Pistor* (the ordinary Latin word for baker) does not really mean Baker at all but Crusher, from *pinsere* "to crush", with reference to the crushing effect of the thunderbolts which Jupiter hurled at sinners.

¹ Livy, v. 48. 4. Compare Florus, i. 7. [13.] 15; Suidas, s.v. ὑπὲρ μαζῆς, p. 1064 ed. Bekker.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 652.

³ R. Merkel, in his edition of the *Fasti* (Berlin, 1841), p. ccxxix.

This is the solution of the difficulty favoured by Preller¹ and Wissowa.²

VI. 363. **We have seen old men . . . cut down within their bronze-lined halls.**—When the army of the Gauls approached Rome in 390 B.C., the mass of the population fled and dispersed among the neighbouring cities. The young men of military age retired to the Capitol and prepared to defend it to the last. But the old men of noble birth, whose age debarred them from serving as soldiers and whose spirit disdained to desert the city, retired to their houses and there awaited death. They dressed themselves in their robes of office, and, putting on all the decorations they had won in peace and war, sat down on their ivory chairs in the central courts of their houses. So when the Gauls entered Rome peacefully, without meeting with resistance, the Colline gate being thrown open to receive them, they were amazed at marching through the empty and silent streets of the deserted city. Not a human being met them, not a sound broke on their ears but that of their own measured tramp on the pavement. Only the frowning cliff of the Capitol, with the glint of sunshine on the arms of sentinels pacing the battlements, told them that they were in an enemy's land. The doors of the common houses, indeed, were everywhere shut and barred, but there were no faces looking out at the windows, and the portals of the great houses stood wide open as if inviting them to enter. The solitude and silence overawed them, and suspecting an ambush they hesitated more to trust themselves within the open portals than to break down the doors that were barricaded against them. So they gradually retraced their steps and drew their scattered forces together in the Forum and the neighbourhood. There they at last ventured, not without fear and trembling, to pass the doorways of the great houses and to set foot in their stately halls. There, to their astonishment, they beheld venerable men seated, in gorgeous robes, with an air of more than human majesty. Wondering whether they were gods or men, the Gauls drew near, and one of them put out his hand and stroked the long beard of M. Papirius, as if to set his doubts

¹ L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 194.

² G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 122.

at rest. But the insult roused the anger of the proud old Roman, and raising his ivory sceptre he struck the Gaul on the head. The Gaul replied by drawing his sword and cutting down the old man. That was the signal for the massacre. All the Roman nobles were butchered where they sat; the city was given up to pillage and set on fire.¹

VI. 365. We have seen the pledges of Ilian Vesta removed from their proper seat.—When the Gauls were nearing Rome in 390 B.C., the Vestal Virgins took counsel with the Flamen Quirinalis as to which of the sacred objects committed to their care they should carry away with them, and which they should leave behind, since their strength was not equal to transporting them all. They decided to deposit certain of these holy things in small jars (*doliola*), and to bury the jars in a chapel which adjoined the house of the Flamen Quirinalis. They did so, and the place where the sacred objects were buried was henceforth known as the Jars (*Doliola*); to spit on it was unlawful. Having thus secreted the heavier of their treasures, they divided the more portable of them among themselves, and bearing them proceeded on their sad journey. Crossing the river by the Sublician bridge, they were trudging up the slope of the Janiculum, when, in the crowd of fugitives that was pouring out of Rome by this road, they were overtaken by a certain L. Albinus, a common man, driving in a waggon with his wife and children. Seeing the holy virgins toiling up the road, while he and his family rode at ease, the pious man jumped down and bade his wife and children do the same. Then he mounted the virgins and their hallowed burden in the waggon, and they drove safe to Caere.² According to Varro, the place called the Jars (*Doliola*) was near the Great Sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*), but he gives a different account of the objects that were buried there. He says that there was a difference of opinion on the subject. Some people thought that the jars contained bones of corpses, others that they held certain religious objects which had belonged to Numa Pompilius and had been buried after his death.³

¹ Livy, v. 40-41; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 21-22.

² Livy, v. 40. 7-10; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 20-21; Festus, s.v. "*Doliola*", p. 60 ed. Lindsay.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 157.

Near the present church of S. Giorgio in Velabro there stands an ancient marble arch facing four ways and hence commonly known as Janus quadrifrons. It stands directly over the Great Sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*) and probably marked the boundary between the Cattle Market (*Forum Boarium*) and the Velabrum. At and near this arch there were discovered in 1901 the remains of small chambers arranged on both sides of narrow corridors, which form subterranean galleries at a depth of about fifteen feet below the present level of the street and about eleven feet below the ancient pavement of the Forum Boarium. The galleries are thought to date from the last centuries of the Republic. The chambers opening off the galleries are small, being only some six feet square; they are vaulted over and each contains a seat built across one side. They may be the cells of an underground prison, or perhaps the "rockbound place beneath the earth", described by Livy, where in the panic which followed the battle of Cannae two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two Greeks, a man and a woman, were buried alive to appease the angry gods.¹ It may also have been here that the precious relics of Vesta were secreted during the Gallic invasion. Fragments of jars and of bones of animals were found in this gloomy den.²

VI. 375. **Quirinus, in the pomp of augur's staff and striped gown.**—So Virgil describes an image of Picus wearing the striped gown (*trabea*) and holding the augur's staff of Quirinus.³ Ovid represents Quirinus, the deified Romulus, wearing the costume of an augur and equipped with his staff, because Romulus, when he founded Rome, was said to have marked out with his augur's staff the quarter (*regiones, templum*) where the omens were to be observed. Long after the death of Romulus his staff was kept in the chapel of the Salii on the Palatine, and though the chapel was burned down by the Gauls in 390 B.C., the staff is said to have been found intact among the ashes.⁴

¹ Livy, xxii. 57. 6.

² S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 395 sq., 402 sq.

³ Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 187-189.

⁴ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 17. 1; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 32. 4 sq.; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 11. As to the ritual observed by the augurs in marking out the place where the omens were observed see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 401 sqq.

VI. 384. the virgin daughter of Saturn.—Ovid means Vesta. He has already named her parents.¹

VI. 395. It chanced that at the festival of Vesta I was returning by that way which now joins the New Way to the Roman Forum.—The New Way (*Nova Via*), as it was called, was very far from being new in Ovid's time. Varro expressly says² that in his day it had long been old. So elsewhere buildings often retain the name of New when they have long attained a venerable antiquity. "*Newgate* was the oldest of the London gates; *New College* is among the most ancient foundations of Oxford; and *New Bridge* is one of the oldest in Oxfordshire."³ The New Way at Rome was as old as the time of the kings. At its upper end, near where the Arch of Titus now stands, the palace of Tarquin the Elder faced on the New Way. From the windows of the upper floor Queen Tanaquil addressed the tumultuous crowd that had gathered at the news of the assassination of her royal husband; and though the king lay dead or dying in his house, his skull cleft by the assassin's axe, she succeeded in pacifying the mob with the assurance that the wound was slight, and that they would soon see the king again.⁴ Again, in the year before the sack of Rome by the Gauls, it happened that a certain Marcus Caedicius was walking by night at the other and lower end of the New Way, just where it skirted the grove of Vesta. As he walked, he heard a voice calling him, but looking round he saw no man, nothing perhaps but the shadows of the trees on the moonlit road. But still he heard a voice, louder than human, calling and saying, "Go, Marcus Caedicius, in the morning to the magistrates and bid them expect the Gauls before long". Next morning he did as he was bid and was laughed at for his pains by the magistrates. But next year the Gauls came. And when they had come and gone, leaving Rome in ashes, the Romans set up an altar to the Speaking Voice at the very spot where it had been heard on the New Way, just above the temple of Vesta, and they fenced it in, and the altar with its fence was still to be seen there in Cicero's time. But whose voice it

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 285 sq.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 59.

³ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 223 note ¹.

⁴ Livy, i. 40-41; compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 73, iv. 5.

was that gave the mysterious warning was never known. So they called him simply the Speaking Voice or the Vocal Speaker (*Aius Loquens* or *Aius Locutius*).¹

Thus the New Way was a very old way when, about the beginning of our era, Ovid took his homeward way along it on a day in June. The New Way and the Sacred Way were the only two streets in Rome that were called ways (*viae*): all the rest were called streets (*vici*) or slopes (*clivi*). Both started from the Porta Mugonia, the old gate of the Palatine, at the north-east corner of the Palatine Hill: this was the highest point of the New Way: here was the temple of Jupiter Stator said to have been founded by Romulus; and near it many centuries later Titus set up his triumphal arch for the capture of Jerusalem. It was here, close to the Porta Mugonia and the temple of Jupiter Stator, that the palace of Tarquin the Elder looked out on the New Way.² From this point the two roads diverged, the Sacred Way running downhill to the Forum, while the New Way kept along the northern slope of the Palatine, about half-way up the hill, passed at a higher level the back of the House of the Vestals, and, turning round the north-west corner of the hill, descended by a staircase to the Velabrum, where it ended under the Porta Romana, near the site of the Church of S. Teodoro. The great edifices of the empire, especially the temple of Augustus with its adjacent buildings, have rendered it impossible to follow the last (western) part of the New Way; but the portion of it between the House of the Vestals and the palace of Tiberius is very well preserved. A series of arches, spanning the road, act as flying buttresses to support both the palace of Caligula and the House of the Vestals.³

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 45. 101, ii. 32. 69; Livy, i. 41. 4, ii. 32. 69, v. 32. 6, v. 50. 5, v. 52. 11; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 12, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 5; Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius, xvi. 17. Cicero and Varro speak of an altar of Aius Loquens or Locutius; Livy (v. 32. 6) calls it a shrine (*sacellum*).

² Livy, i. 12. 3-6 (where the *porta vetus Palatii* is the Porta Mugonia), i. 41. 4; Solinus, i. 24; Festus, s.v. "Mugonia (*sic*) porta", p. 131 ed. Lindsay; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 3 (who says that the Porta Mugonia led from the Sacred Way to the Palatine).

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 43 and 164, vi. 24; Festus, s.v. "Romanam portam", pp. 318, 319 ed. Lindsay; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 222-224; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*², p. 218; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*⁴, pp. 173 sq., 357; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 164.

Ovid tells us that he was returning along the way which led from the Forum to the New Way when he met an old woman barefoot coming down the hill. This implies that Ovid was ascending the hill by a cross-road which led from the Forum to the New Way ; for it is to be observed that the New Way itself never led into the Forum, but ran along the side of the hill, while the Forum lay down in the valley. Further, as Ovid was returning from the festival of Vesta, we may suppose that this cross-road started somewhere near the temple of Vesta and led uphill past the western end of the House of the Vestals. Now such a cross-road, joining the Sacred Way and the Forum down on the flat with the New Way up on the hill has been discovered in modern times. When I was in Rome in the winter of 1900-1901, I made, from personal observation, the following note of it : " A broad inclined road, paved with herring-bone bricks and lined with brick-faced walls, has been discovered leading up from the church of S. Maria Antiqua to the west (lowest) end of the Nova Via, just at the south-west corner of the Atrium Vestae. I have passed up this winding road more than once. The road is about four paces wide. From its junction with the Via Nova it ascends a short way southward to join the Clivus Victoriae, but breaks off abruptly before reaching it." This brick-paved road may very well have been the very road which Ovid was ascending when he met the old woman coming down the hill, probably to worship at the temple of Vesta. If this interpretation is correct, it follows that Madvig's conjecture *quae* for *qua* in line 396 (see the Critical Note) is wrong, since, if we adopt it, Ovid is made to imply that the New Way itself actually joined the Forum, which it never did, though it was joined to it by a cross-road in the same sense in which two parallel lines are joined by a cross line intersecting them. It was on the cross-road, not on the New Way, that Ovid was walking when he met, or rather was supposed to meet, the garrulous old dame coming down the hill ; no doubt his interview with her was no more than a poetical device to pass off the poet's own view of the marshy state of the low ground about the Palatine in days of old.

The Clivus Victoriae (the Slope of Victory) was another

road which ran along the northern side of the Palatine, roughly parallel to the New Way but at a higher level. It began on the western side of the hill at the Porta Romana, near the site of the Church of S. Teodoro, from which it apparently ascended the hill by a staircase.¹ After turning the northern corner of the hill and being continued eastward it formed, with the New Road below it and the floor of the House of the Vestals at the bottom of the hill, one of a series of gigantic steps or stages hewn out of the northern slope of the Palatine. Some of the pavement of the Clivus Victoriæ still exists on this side of the hill. The road is supposed to have taken its name from the temple of Victory, which certainly stood on the Palatine,² but the exact situation of the temple is disputed. Three inscriptions containing fragments of dedications to the goddess Victory were found in 1728 on the western slope of the Palatine, above the church of S. Teodoro, and within recent years blocks of tufa masonry have come to light there which possibly belonged to the temple. J. H. Middleton and Ch. Huelsen were of opinion that the temple of Victory was probably situated there. But in that case the temple must have stood at the beginning rather than at the end of the slope to which it gave its name.³ The temple of Victory was dedicated in 294 B.C. by the Consul L. Postumius Megellus; the cost of building it was defrayed by the fines which he had levied in his aedileship.⁴ We have seen that the rude stone image of the Great Mother, on its arrival in Rome, was temporarily lodged in the temple of Victory.⁵ The Clivus Victoriæ is marked on a piece of the ancient Marble Plan of Rome, of which many fragments, engraved on blocks of marble, have been discovered. They are now exhibited in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol.⁶

VI. 401. **Here, where now are forums, were once wet and quaking bogs.**—The low ground in the centre of Rome, sur-

¹ Festus, s.v. "Romanam portam", p. 318 ed. Lindsay.

² Livy, xxix. 14. 14.

³ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 118 sq., 189, 309; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 136 sq.; II. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 47-50; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 138 sq.

⁴ Livy, x. 33. 9.

⁵ Above, vol. iii. p. 248.

⁶ As to the ancient Marble Plan of Rome see note on *Fasti*, ii. 637 (Vol. II. p. 251).

rounded by hills from which the water ran down into it, must have been very swampy in the old days before it was drained by the wonderful system of stone sewers, which dates from the regal period and has survived in part to the present time. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us¹ that when the Sabine king Tatius first occupied the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, the valley at the foot of the Capitol was occupied partly by a wood and partly by a lake formed by the streams which poured down from the surrounding hills. The king cut down the wood and filled up a great part of the lake, and so formed the Roman Forum, which was probably in origin rather a market than a place of public assembly, like the Cattle Market (*Forum boarium* or *bovarium*), the Vegetable Market (*Forum holitorium*), the Fish Market (*Forum piscarium*), and so forth.² Varro speaks of "the marshy place which was then in the Forum before the sewers were made".³ Even when Rome had risen to the height of her glory as the mistress of the world, the extent and the solidity of these vast drainage works, testifying to the engineering skill and enterprise of earlier ages, excited the wonder and admiration of Greeks and Romans alike. At the beginning of our era the Greek historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, declared that among the magnificent constructions of Rome which bore witness to the greatness of her empire, he singled out three in particular, the aqueducts, the paved roads, and the underground sewers.⁴ A little later Pliny cited the sewers among the wonders of Rome, declaring that mountains had been tunnelled to make them and that the ground was so honey-combed by them that Rome might be said to be a hanging city; and to give us an idea of their size he says that Agrippa in his aedileship had sailed up them in a boat, and that one of the oldest of them was of such dimensions that a waggon loaded with hay could drive through it. The streams that rushed down from the hills, the torrents of rain that descended from the sky, the heavy and enormous traffic that rolled over the streets, the crash of falling buildings, the

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 1 sq.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 145 sq.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 149.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 67. 5.

ravages of fire, even the shock of earthquakes, all availed not to shake these marvellous structures or to make them sink under the superincumbent weight of the city. The construction of these mighty works he ascribed to the genius of the first of the Etruscan kings, Tarquin the Elder,¹ and in this ascription he is supported by Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Livy tells us that the able and far-seeing king set himself to complete the stone wall round the city, which had been interrupted by the Sabine war, and that "by sewers led from the heights to the Tiber he drained the lowest parts of the city about the Forum and the other valleys lying between the hills, because the water was not easily drained from the flat ground."² According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the work was begun by Tarquin the Elder³ and continued by Tarquin the Proud.⁴ In particular, the construction of the Great Sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*) which drained, and still drains, the valley of the Forum, is ascribed by Livy to Tarquin the Proud.⁵

The labour necessary for the construction of these gigantic works was furnished by a system of task-work imposed on the poorer part of the population. So severe and irksome was the toil that many persons found relief from it in suicide. At last these voluntary deaths became so frequent that in order to deter the survivors the tyrants hit on the device of crucifying the dead bodies of the suicides and leaving them suspended on the crosses, a prey to vultures and wild beasts. This horrible sight had the desired effect: the practice of suicide ceased, and the labour at the quarries and the sewers continued. But the deep discontent excited by this forced labour was undoubtedly a principal cause of the overthrow of the dynasty and the establishment of the Republic.⁶

The existing remains of the ancient Roman sewers are of

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 103-108.

² Livy, i. 38. 6.

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 67. 5.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 44. 1.

⁵ Livy, i. 56. 2.

⁶ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 44; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 107-108; Livy, i. 56. 2 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xii. 603. The device of crucifying the bodies of the suicides is attributed to Tarquin the Elder by Pliny, but to Tarquin the Proud by the old Roman historian Cassius Hemina, quoted by Servius (*l.c.*).

various dates and various styles ; according to one opinion, little or nothing of them is older than the Republican period, while much is certainly of the Imperial age. The sewers of Republican or regal date are built of squared blocks of tufa or peperino : the oldest of them are roofed over with triangular tops formed of courses of stones on level beds, each course projecting over the one below. This archaic mode of construction, which probably preceded the invention of the arch, is exemplified in the great beehive tombs of pre-historic Greece, and at Rome the lowest dungeon of the Mamertine prison, known as the Tullianum, where the Catilinarian conspirators were strangled,¹ is built in the same primitive style of masonry and in the same circular shape. But most, apparently, of the Republican or regal sewers are roofed with regular arches of solid masonry. Under the empire great sewers were formed of concrete faced with bricks and covered with semicircular vaults also of concrete. Smaller drains were commonly roofed with large tiles set leaning together in a triangular form. The Great Sewer (*Cloaca Maxima*) starts in the valley of the Subura, at the foot of the Carinae,² the elevated spur of the Esquiline, on which now stand the churches of S. Pietro in Vincoli and S. Francesco di Paolo. It then crosses the Forum, passing under the south end of the Basilica Julia. Thence it runs under the ancient Tuscan Street (*vicus Tuscus*) and the valley of the Velabrum, till it reaches the Tiber near the little round temple in the Forum Boarium. In 1890 a piece of the sewer more than 200 yards long was cleared out between the Forum of Augustus and the Roman Forum. It is here built of massive blocks of peperino (*lapis Gabinus*) ; it is 10 feet 6 inches wide, and about 14 feet high to the crown of the vault. Its floor is paved with polygonal blocks of lava, like a Roman street. At its exit on the Tiber the arch of the sewer is nearly 11 feet wide and more than 12 feet high, and is formed of three rings of peperino blocks. A considerable piece of this great sewer is now to be seen near the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro. The larger part of

¹ Sallust, *Catiline*, 55 ; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 151 ; Festus, s.v. "Tullianum", p. 490 ed. Lindsay.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 47.

this section belongs to the Republican period, but some of the restorations are of later date.¹

As the original construction of these great arched sewers was unanimously referred by the Romans to their two Etruscan kings, the Tarquins, it is natural to suppose that the use of the arch in architecture was borrowed by the Romans from Etruria. Indeed, some good modern scholars have held that the invention of the true arch, built of wedge-shaped blocks of stone (*voussoirs*) fitted together in a segment of a circle, must be attributed to the Etruscans, who in that case proved themselves the masters both of the Greeks and the Romans in this important branch of architecture.² The Etruscan origin of the great Roman sewers is confirmed by the existence of an exactly similar sewer built of stone at the Etruscan city of Graviscae, by the sea near Tarquinii. It is fourteen feet wide, and ends, like the Great Sewer at Rome, in a massive quay wall some twenty feet high. Other ancient sewers of the same sort exist in Etruria.³ In recent years the excavations conducted by Mr. Woolley for the British Museum at Ur of the Chaldees have proved that the principle of the arch was familiar to the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia at a time which long preceded, not only the foundation of Rome, but the settlement of the Etruscans in Italy. Hence it is probable that the Etruscans brought the knowledge of the arch with them from their old home in Asia, where they may have borrowed it, directly or indirectly, from Babylonia.

VI. 403. **That Lake of Curtius, which supports dry altars, is now solid ground.**—The Lake of Curtius or simply the Lake, as it was sometimes called for short,⁴ was a place in

¹ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 142-145; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 104-109. As to the history and remains of the Roman sewers see further II. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 441 sqq.

² K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke (Stuttgart, 1877), i. 242-245; compare G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ (London, 1883), i. pp. lxvi-lxviii.

³ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 145; G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³, i. 433 sq. The *voussoirs* of the sewer at Graviscae are from five to six feet in depth, whereas those of the *Cloaca Maxima* at Rome are scarcely two and a half feet deep. On the other hand, there is a triple row of *voussoirs* in the *Cloaca Maxima*, but only a single row in the sewer at Graviscae.

⁴ Plautus, *Curculio*, 477 (iv. 1. 16); Statius, *Silv.* i. 1. 67.

the middle of the Forum¹ which, as Ovid intimates, had long been dry in his day. Three different stories were told to account for the name; all of them are recorded by Varro.² According to one story, when the Romans under Romulus occupied the Palatine, and the Sabines under their King Tatius were entrenched on the Capitol, the two sides often descended from their heights and fought each other in the valley in which the Forum was afterwards laid out, but which then was partly occupied by a marshy lake. In one of these skirmishes a certain gallant Sabine dragoon named Mettius Curtius covered himself with glory; for he not only led his countrymen to the charge, but when they fell back in disorder before a counter-charge of the Romans he maintained a hand-to-hand combat with Romulus himself to give his men time to save themselves. At last, wounded and bleeding, he was driven back to the edge of the lake. What was he to do? The water was deep and muddy, and the banks were already covered with the enemy's troops hastening in pursuit of the flying Sabines. Without hesitation Curtius plunged, horse, arms, and all, into the lake and swam splashing through the water, encouraged by the cries and prayers of his people on the farther shore. So the lake was ever afterwards called the Lake of Curtius.³

But another and apparently more popular explanation of the name was this. It is said that in the year 362 B.C. a great and bottomless chasm suddenly opened in the middle of the Forum. All efforts to fill up the cleft by throwing earth into it proved vain. At last the oracle was consulted and declared that the abyss would never close up till the Roman people had cast down into it whatever they valued most in the world. So the people assembled, some bringing gold, others silver, others corn, and others whatever they deemed most precious. But all was of no avail. The fissure still yawned there at their feet as wide and deep as ever. Thereupon a young man named Marcus Curtius, a brave soldier,

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 42. 6.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 148-150.

³ Livy, i. 12; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 42 and 46. 3; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 149 (quoting the annalist Piso); Plutarch, *Romulus*, 18 (according to whom Curtius had to abandon his charger in the marsh and to save himself by swimming).

rebuked them, saying that nothing in Rome was so precious as arms and valour. After that, commanding silence, he looked to the Capitol and the temples of the gods which surrounded the Forum, and stretching his hands now to heaven, now to the gulf at his feet, where the dead were waiting to receive him, he solemnly devoted himself to death. Then, putting on his armour, he mounted his horse, fully caparisoned, and leaped into the abyss, which closed over him. The multitude of men and women who witnessed his devotion showered their offerings on the spot where he had vanished; and the Romans built an altar on the ground and decreed that every year heroic honours should be paid to his memory. And that was why the plot of dry ground, with the altar on it, was called the Lake of Curtius.¹

A third, and much more prosaic, explanation of the name was that the spot had been struck by lightning and consequently fenced in after the usual fashion by decree of the Senate; and as one of the consuls for that year happened to be called Curtius, the place was named after him.² Of these three explanations it is obvious that only the first accounts for the name of "lake" applied to the place.

In later times, when Ovid had been long gathered to his fathers, the so-called Lake of Curtius was the scene of a real, not an imaginary, tragedy. On the last day of Galba's reign and life, rumours had reached him on the Palatine of a formidable conspiracy. The Guards, it was said, had been tampered with in their barracks by some ambitious senator unknown; some people named him Otho. The regiment on guard at the palace was called out and addressed from the steps of the palace in the Emperor's name; but the men listened to the address coolly and then marched off with the colours in military order. Meantime the same rumour had been flying about the city, and a great crowd gathered outside the palace, cheering the Emperor and calling for the death of the conspirators. Galba hesitated, but a report getting abroad that Otho had been killed

¹ Livy, vii. 6. 1-6; Propertius, iv. (iii.) 11. 61; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 148; Festus, s.v. "Curtilacum", p. 42 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 78; Suidas, s.v. Αἰβepos.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 150.

at the barracks, the enthusiasm of the crowd rose to the highest pitch ; they broke into the palace and surrounded the Emperor with wild cries and loud protestations of loyalty. Unwillingly, overcome by their importunity, Galba put on a cuirass, and taking his seat in a litter (for he was too old and weak to walk) was carried down to the Forum. The spectacle that there met his eyes was impressive. The whole place was crammed with a great multitude. Even the surrounding basilicas and temples were filled to overflowing with spectators. The Emperor was received in ominous silence. All eyes were turned on him, but not a voice was raised in greeting. Yet it was not an absolute silence, but rather, we are told, the hush that falls on a crowd in great fear or great anger. The Emperor's bearers had difficulty in making their way through the people ; the litter rocked and swayed this way and that with the pressure of the throng. But suddenly the silence was broken by a clatter of horse-hoofs : a troop of cavalry, with drawn swords, broke into the Forum, the crowd scattering wildly before them, and galloped straight at the Emperor. At sight of them Galba's standard-bearer tore the Emperor's medal from the standard and dashed it on the pavement. The bearers, in a panic, allowed the Emperor to fall from the litter and roll on the ground beside the Lake of Curtius. His last words were variously reported, but the general account was that he offered his throat to the swords of the assassins and bade them strike home, if it was for the good of the commonwealth. In all the vast multitude of lookers-on not a hand was raised to help the Emperor in his extremity. Of his bodyguard one man alone, a centurion, who had received no special favour from Galba, proved true to his duty as a soldier and a subject. Planting himself in front of the litter, by his authority as an officer he ordered the assailants to stand back and spare the Emperor ; and when, heedless of the order, they continued to press forward, he drew his sword and long kept them at bay until, overpowered by numbers and covered with wounds, he fell dead by the side of the Emperor.¹

¹ Tacitus, *Histor.* i. 27-41 ; Plutarch, *Galba*, 25-27 ; Dio Cassius, lxxiii. 6 (vol. viii. p. 202 ed. Cary) ; Suetonius, *Galba*, 19-20 ; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 6.

When gladiators fought in the Forum at Caesar's funeral, the altar that had been erected on the dried-up Lake of Curtius was removed to make room for the bloody play, which was then played in the Forum for the last time;¹ but the altar would seem to have been afterwards restored, if we may judge from Ovid's reference to the altars which stood on the spot. Under Domitian a gigantic equestrian statue of that bad emperor was set up in the Forum beside the Lake of Curtius, and Statius wrote a poem on it in which he represented Curtius rising from his lake and addressing the tyrant in a strain of fulsome flattery.²

A curious token of the affection or adulation lavished on Augustus by his subjects was the custom, observed by all classes, of throwing pennies once a year into the Lake of Curtius in fulfilment of a vow for the health and safety of the Emperor.³ How the pennies were supposed to effect the desired object, and why they were cast into the lake, is not clear. Perhaps as the deified dead (*di manes*) were apparently supposed to dwell in the abyss which had been closed by the self-sacrifice of Curtius,⁴ the pennies were thrown to them in the hope that they would accept the offering and spare the Emperor's life yet a while.

In 1553 there was found in the Forum, between the column of Phocas and the temple of Castor, a sculptured relief representing Mettius Curtius in full armour, mounted on his steed, and with spear in rest, just about to plunge into the lake, which is indicated by tall reeds or water-plants. The style of the relief is archaistic; it may be a comparatively late copy of an original dating from about the third century B.C. It probably decorated the Lake of Curtius, since it was found close to the site of the lake. The relief is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitol.⁵

Remains of the so-called Lake of Curtius were discovered in April 1904 about two feet below the travertine pavement which dates from Imperial times. The spot is between the column of Phocas and the large base of concrete which is

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 78.

² Statius, *Silvae*, i. 1. 67 sqq.

³ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57. 1.

⁴ Livy, vii. 6. 4.

⁵ W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³, i. pp. 508 sq., No. 896; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*², pp. 145, 146.

believed to have supported the statue of Domitian. Here is to be seen a trapezoidal area about 33 feet long by about 29 feet wide, paved with large slabs of travertine and fenced in by similar blocks, but only part of the pavement is preserved. Below it is a layer of blocks of tufa extending over the whole area. Near the eastern corner is the plinth of a round altar or perhaps a wellhead (*puteal*). At the western end may be seen traces of bases which possibly supported the altars mentioned by Ovid. On the kerb which surrounds the pavement are marks that indicate the former presence of a screen or balustrade, to which the relief representing the descent of Curtius may have been attached.¹

VI. 405. **where now the processions are wont to defile through the Velabrum to the Circus.**—The Velabrum was the valley between the Palatine and the Capitol; through it the traffic passed from the Forum to the Cattle Market (Forum Boarium) and so on to the river. In the early days, when a brook flowed through it and much of the ground was marshy, it must have afforded considerable protection to the north side of the ancient settlement on the Palatine.² The swampy nature of the valley before it was drained by the Great Sewer was generally recognized by ancient writers. Varro derived the name Velabrum from the verb *vehere*, “to convey”, with reference to the conveyance of merchandise in boats.³ So Plutarch derived the name from the ferry-boat (*velatura*), which used to ply here across the flooded flat, carrying people to market.⁴ Propertius seems to deduce the name from *vela*, “sails”; he speaks of the place where of old “the Velabrum spread its stagnant stream and the seaman sailed over the waters in the city”;⁵ and similarly Tibullus tells us that “where now the quarter of Velabrum spreads, a little punt was wont to ply”, and he pictures the time long gone by when, on holidays, a city lass used to be ferried across the water to her shepherd lad in the country and to come back with a present of cheese and a snow-white lamb.⁶ In the poet’s time the Velabrum was one of the most crowded and squalid quarters

¹ Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*², pp. 146-148; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 267 sq.

² Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*², p. 2.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 43 sq.

⁵ Propertius, v. (iv.) 9. 5 sq.

⁴ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 5. 5.

⁶ Tibullus, ii. 5. 33 sqq.

of the city; and among the population swarming in the streets Arcadian shepherds and shepherdesses were the last persons by whom the foot passenger would expect to be jostled. The Tuscan Street in particular, which was one of the principal thoroughfares, seems to have been the haunt of the lowest dregs of the populace.¹

The games periodically celebrated in the Circus Maximus were regularly preceded by a solemn procession, which, starting from the Capitol, passed through the Forum and the Velabrum by the Tuscan Street to the Forum Boarium, and so entered the Circus Maximus, which it traversed from end to end.² This was "the route of the procession" noticed by Cicero.³ Plutarch mentions the street that ran through the Velabrum from the Forum to the Circus, and he tells us that some people derived the name Velabrum from the awnings (*vela*) that were stretched across the street on these occasions,⁴ no doubt to screen the procession and the spectators from the glare of the sun.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a contemporary of Ovid, has described these processions as he and the poet must have often witnessed them descending the slope of the Capitol and wending their way slowly through the public places and streets to the Circus.⁵ At the head of the procession rode and walked, arrayed in squadrons and companies, on horseback and on foot, the flower of the Roman youth, their country's hope, some mere schoolboys, but most in the prime of budding manhood. The spectacle, we are told, was meant to impress on foreigners the reserve of power on which the great city could draw. Behind them followed the cynosure of all eyes, the chariots and horses that were about to race in the Circus. Some of the chariots were

¹ Plautus, *Curculio*, 482 sq.; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 228 sq., with Porphyry's note on line 228. On the Velabrum and the Tuscan Street see further H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 467 sqq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 181-183; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 394 sq.

² H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 469; J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 507 sq.

³ Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act II. Lib. I. 59. 154, "a signo Vortumni in circum maximum . . . viam tensorum atque pompae."

⁴ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 5. 5.

⁵ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72. For details see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 507-511.

drawn by four, others by two horses, and in the chariots stood the charioteers in their white, red, green, or blue livery. The sight of each livery as it passed must have drawn roars of applause or hootings from the dense crowd of spectators, whose sympathies were at least as warmly enlisted on behalf of their favourite colours as are those of an English crowd on race days at Epsom on behalf of the various jockeys in their coats of many colours. Mingled with the chariots were riders mounted on single horses that pawed the ground or pranced and curvetted as if they shared in the general elation. Immediately behind marched the athletes who were to compete in the games, their manly figures plain for all to see, for they wore nothing but a cloth about the loins. They were immediately followed by bands of dancers, clad in purple tunics drawn in at the waist by bronze belts, with swords girt at their sides and short spears in their hands, while on their heads they wore glittering helmets of bronze with nodding plumes that danced with every movement. Each band was preceded by a fugleman who gave the word of command for each figure of the dance, and by his gestures directed and timed the movements. And with them marched bands of musicians discoursing music on flutes and lyres. They were followed by troops of buffoons and merry-andrews, some in motley, some in goatskins, some disguised as Satyrs, others as Silenuses; it was their business to make sport and to ridicule the solemn movements of the others by grotesque and ludicrous mimicry. Next came acolytes waving censers and scattering perfumes all along the route of the procession. After them followed the processional vessels and the sacred trappings and emblems of the gods borne in cars of a special sort resplendent with ivory and silver. Last of all were borne in litters on men's shoulders the images of the gods, not of the twelve great gods only, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and the rest, but also of the elder gods, their ancestors, and of the whole host of lesser divinities, including the demigods, "whose souls", in the language of Dionysius, "after quitting their mortal bodies, are said to have ascended up to heaven and to enjoy honours like those of the gods, among whom are Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, the Moon, Pan, and countless more". In this order the procession entered

the Circus, where the vast assembly received it standing and clapping their hands, the applause of so many thousands sounding like a peal of distant thunder.¹

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to whom we are indebted for the fullest description of the procession, mentions neither the colours worn by the charioteers nor the special cars (*tensae*) which conveyed the sacred objects. At first only two colours, white and red, were worn by the rival charioteers; green and blue were introduced later.² Domitian added purple and gold to the four older colours, but the innovation appears to have been short-lived.³ Caligula was passionately devoted to the Green faction and often supped in their stable.⁴ Galba and Vitellius were partisans of the Blue.⁵

The Circus Maximus was first laid out by Tarquin the Elder. He caused seats, raised on wooden scaffolding and protected by roofs, to be constructed all round the racecourse. Before his time the spectators had stood in the open air.⁶ Of the history of the Circus during the Republic little is known, but the old structure was much enlarged by Julius Caesar.⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus has left us a description of the Circus Maximus as it was in his days and in the days of Ovid. It was not what we call a circus at all, but a racecourse constructed on the model of the Greek stadium. In the time of Dionysius the tiers of seats were supported on arcades in three storeys, one above the other; the lower seats were of stone, the upper seats of wood. Between the seats and the racecourse was interposed a canal to protect the spectators from the wild beasts which fought and were butchered before their eyes in the arena. One end of the Circus was semicircular, with the seats running round it; the other end was unenclosed except for the stalls for the chariots which competed in

¹ As to these processions see, in addition to the passage of Dionysius Halicarnasensis already cited (*Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72), Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 2. 43 *sqq.* (for the reception of the procession); Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 7. As to the racing colours, which excited the passions of the mob and in later times led to bloody conflicts between their partisans, see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 2 517 *sqq.* As to the cars (*tensae*) in which the processional vessels and other sacred objects were carried see Festus, *s.vv.* "Tensam" and "Tensa", pp. 500, 501 ed. Lindsay.

² Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 9.

³ Suetonius, *Caligula*, 56.

⁴ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 7.

⁵ Suetonius, *Vitellius*, 7.

⁶ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 68. 1; Livy, i. 35. 8.

⁷ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 39. 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 102.

the race. Round the outside of the building ran an arcade in a single storey, with shops below and houses above. The Circus was then estimated to accommodate a hundred and fifty thousand spectators.¹ It was Julius Caesar who had constructed the canal round the racecourse for the protection of the spectators against the beasts; an iron railing had proved insufficient to prevent the infuriated animals from breaking loose and spreading confusion and alarm among the crowded benches.² In later times the Circus Maximus was beautified and enlarged by the care of successive emperors. Claudius rebuilt the chariot-stalls (*carceres*) of marble, and set up gilded goals; stalls and goals had till then been of tufa and wood; moreover, he set apart special seats for senators, who had previously sat with the rest of the spectators.³ In Pliny's time the Circus was estimated to seat two hundred and fifty thousand spectators.⁴ It was still further enlarged and embellished by Trajan.⁵ "In his time it must have been a structure of extraordinary size and magnificence, wholly covered inside and out with white marble, relieved with gold and painting, brilliant mosaics, columns of coloured Oriental marbles, and statues of white marble and gilt bronze. It must then, from its crowd of works of art, its immense size, and its splendour of material, have been on the whole the most magnificent building in the world."⁶

Of all this magnificence nothing remains. The history of the destruction of this, the greatest and most splendid building of ancient Rome, is lost in obscurity. A great part of the site is now made hideous by large gasworks, vomiting volumes of black smoke from their grimy chimneys.⁷ But under and near the Church of S. Anastasia excavations have laid bare a series of buildings of many different dates, which appear to have skirted the edge of the Circus Maximus on

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iii. 68.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 21.

³ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 21. 3.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 102.

⁵ Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51; Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 7; Pausanias, v. 12. 6.

⁶ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 44.

⁷ On the history of the Circus Maximus see H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 120-143; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 40-56; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 174-179; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 403-409.

the side of the Palatine and perhaps formed part of the Circus itself. Here, too, have been found remains of a lava-paved road which probably ran along the side of the Circus ; the road is about 22 feet below the present level of the ground. A row of lofty rooms, built of concrete and brick, faces the paved road, opening on to it with large double archways, both flat and semicircular. This series of archways, built of concrete faced with brick, appears to be a restoration, dating from the first century A.D., of an earlier Republican arcade, built of tufa, of which parts still exist with capitals of travertine. All these concrete brick-faced walls are of great strength and solidity, and probably formed part of the substructures which supported the upper rows of seats. A similar series of walls, archways, and chambers may be supposed to have extended along the whole length of the Circus and to have served the same purpose.¹

VI. 409. **Yonder god (Vertumnus), whose name is appropriate to various shapes.**—Though Ovid does not name the god of whom he is speaking, there can be no doubt that the deity referred to is Vertumnus or Vortumnus, as the name was spelled by our better authorities. For Ovid clearly supposed the god's image to have stood in the Velabrum on the road which the processions followed on their way from the Forum to the Circus Maximus. Now we know from Varro that an image of Vortumnus stood on the Tuscan Street,² which ran through the Velabrum ; and Cicero speaks of the image of Vortumnus as on the way from the temple of Castor and Pollux (which faced the Forum) to the Circus Maximus.³ The house of Scipio Africanus stood near the image of Vortumnus, behind the Old Shops.⁴

If any doubt could subsist as to the deity whom Ovid had here in mind it would be set at rest by the testimony of Propertius, who tells us that the image of Vertumnus, as he calls him, stood where the Tiber once made its way, and where the splash of oars used to be heard in the shallow water ; but that when the floods retired Vertumnus took his

¹ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, i. 54-56. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 133-135.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 46.

³ Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. Lib. I. 59. 154.

⁴ Livy, xlv. 16. 10.

name from the turning back of the river (" *verso—ab amne* ").¹ This is precisely the etymology assigned by Ovid (line 410) to the name of his unnamed god. Both poets also speak of this deity as a being of many shapes, obviously deriving his name from the verb *vertere*, "to turn", "to change".² The words of Propertius imply that the image was a simple bronze statue, without a temple or shrine, and that it stood in a crowded thoroughfare within sight of the Forum.³ The description applies well to the Tuscan Street, which must have been one of the busiest and most crowded thoroughfares in Rome, lined with shops of retail-dealers, particularly bakers, butchers, grocers, perfumers, and silk-mercers, and infested with rogues and blackguards of the lowest sort, a rookery, such as Whitefriars was in the days of Elizabeth and James the First.⁴ The Romans were unanimous in deriving the name of the street from a body of Etruscans who had aided them in their early wars with their enemies, and who had been rewarded for their services by being allowed to settle in this quarter of the city; authorities only differed as to the date of the settlement, some assigning it to the reign of Romulus, others to the reign of Tarquin the Elder, and others again to the second year of the Republic (508 B.C.).⁵

Some Roman antiquaries looked on Vortumnus as an Etruscan deity. Varro even affirmed that Vortumnus was the chief god of Etruria, and that at Rome his image was set up in the Tuscan Street on account of his Tuscan origin.⁶ Similarly Propertius represents the god as declaring in so many words that he was an Etruscan and came from Etruria, having deserted the Etruscan city of Volsinii during the wars.⁷ But from the Allifan and Amiternine calendars we

¹ Propertius v. (iv.) 2. 7-10.

² Propertius v. (iv.) 2. 47, "*Quod formas unus vertebat in omnes*"; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 409, "*Nondum conveniens diversis iste figuris*".

³ Propertius v. (iv.) 2. 5 sq., 55 sq., 59 sqq.

⁴ Plautus, *Curculio*, 480 sqq.; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 228 sq., with the note of Porphyry on line 228; *id.*, *Epist.* ii. 1. 269 sq.; Martial, xi. 27. 11; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 469 sq.

⁵ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 46; Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 49-52; Livy, ii. 14. 9; Festus, s.vv. "*Tuscum vicum*", "*Tusculus vicus*", pp. 486, 487 ed. Lindsay; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 65; Porphyry, on Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 228; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 560. Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 273 sq.

⁶ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 46.

⁷ Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 3 sq.

know that there was a temple of Vortumnus on the Aventine which appears to have been dedicated on the thirteenth of August,¹ and the temple contained a picture of M. Fulvius Flaccus in his triumphal robes.² Since M. Fulvius Flaccus was consul in 264 B.C.³ and celebrated a triumph in the same year for his victory over the Volsinians,⁴ we may suppose with some degree of probability that the temple was erected by the victorious general, not only to commemorate his success, but also to secure the divine favour by transferring the chief god of the conquered foe from Volsinii to Rome.⁵ Now in the days of the independence of Etruria, the federal council of the league regularly met at the shrine of a goddess named Voltumna, where measures of war and peace were concerted.⁶ This shrine of Voltumna appears to have been at or near Volsinii, for down to the time of Constantine an annual assembly was held at Volsinii, accompanied by the celebration of theatrical performances and gladiatorial combats; to these assemblies even the distant city of Hispellum in Umbria had been in the habit of sending priests to represent it, though the citizens petitioned Constantine to be excused for the future from doing so because the road led through forests and over steep mountains. The Emperor granted their petition, but stipulated that at Volsinii the time-honoured rites should continue to be performed by Etruscan priests.⁷ This suggests that the goddess Voltumna was the wife, or, at all events, the female counterpart, of Vortumnus, and that the pair were the patron deities of Volsinii, from which they took their name and to which they stood in much the same relation in which Athena stood to Athens. If that was so, the proper form of the god's name would seem to have been Voltumnus rather than Vortumnus. However, the form Vortumnus was well established at Rome, being attested by several inscriptions found there; one of them, dating from the time of Diocletian and Maximian, was discovered between the church of S. Teodoro and the temple

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 217, 244, 325.

² Festus, s.v. "Picta", p. 228 ed. Lindsay.

³ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 136.

⁴ *C.I.L.* i.² p. 172.

⁵ Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, p. 15.

⁶ Livy, iv. 23. 5, iv. 25. 7, iv. 61. 2, v. 17. 6, vi. 2. 2.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 705.

of Castor, that is, on the very site of the ancient Tuscan Street, where the god's image stood; another records a dedication by a silversmith who had his shop at the image or, as we might say, at the sign of Vortumnus.¹ Another inscription containing a dedication to Vortumnus has been found at Canusium in Apulia,² though what took the god there, so far from his old Etruscan home, we cannot say. According to one opinion, the names Voltumna and Vortumnus are derived from Ultimni, the name of an Etruscan family.³ However, no mention or representation of Voltumna and Vortumnus has yet been discovered on extant Etruscan monuments,⁴ and this tells so far in favour of those who see in Vortumnus a purely Latin deity. Yet the express testimony of the learned Varro on such a point is not to be lightly rejected.

If Vortumnus was indeed an Etruscan deity in name and origin, the similarity of his name, especially in the form Vertumnus, to Latin is deceptive, and the account which the Roman poets gave of his power of shape-shifting must be dismissed as based on nothing better than the false etymology which would explain the name Vertumnus as equivalent to Turner, from *vertere*, "to turn". We have seen that Propertius and Ovid proposed to derive the god's name from his exploit in turning back the flooded Tiber. But no sooner has he suggested this explanation than Propertius propounds another. Perhaps, says he, speaking in the god's name, "I am called Vertumnus because I receive the fruit of the turning year" (*annus vertens*).⁵ For it seems that the first fruits of the season were offered to Vertumnus. In the right hand of his image, or perhaps rather in a basket which he held out to his worshippers, might be seen the first purple grapes of the vintage, the first yellow ears of corn at harvest, sweet blushing cherries,

¹ II. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3587, 3588 ("Vortumnus temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani"), 7696 ("faber arg. [ad Vo]rtumnus").

² II. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3589.

³ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin, 1904), p. 252.

⁴ R. S. Conway in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv. 417.

⁵ Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 11 sq., "Seu, quia vertentis fructum praecepimus anni, | Vertumni (Vertanni Paley) rursus creditur esse sacrum."

autumn plums, apples and pears, and mulberries reddening in summer days ; there, too, in the basket lay the dark-green cucumber and swelling gourd, and there, or wreathed about his face, drooped every flower that bloomed in the meadows.¹ This fancy Ovid took up and told, in charming verses worthy of Herrick, how Vertumnus, the god of the turning year, wooed and won the love of Pomona, the goddess of fruit, who dwelt demure in her loved orchard, barred against the wanton crew of amorous rural deities, till Vertumnus found his way into her heart. But the goddess was coy, and the god justified his name by turning into many shapes before she yielded. Now he presented himself to her in the guise of a reaper, with his basket of corn-ears on his arm ; now he was a haymaker, fresh from tossing the hay in the meadow, with a wisp of grass wound about his brows ; now he was a ploughman with an ox-goad in his hand, as if he had just unyoked the weary oxen on the furrowed field ; again, he showed himself as a pruner of vines with his pruning-knife ; or he carried a ladder on which to climb the fruit-trees and pluck the ripening apples from the boughs ; he even took the shape of a fisherman with his rod and of a soldier with his sword. But all in vain ; the shy goddess still said no, till at last he doffed his disguises and appeared in his own proper form, as the sun breaks through clouds to shine in undimmed radiance. Thus Vertumnus won Pomona's love.² In this description of the god's successive transformations Ovid clearly borrowed much of his imagery from Propertius, who enumerates an even greater variety of personages into which this Italian Proteus could convert himself at will, among them a girl in Coan silk, a tipsy reveller, a hunter, a fowler, a charioteer, a circus-rider, a pedlar, a shepherd, and one who carried baskets of roses on summer's dusty ways.³ More briefly, Tibullus alludes to the thousand varied garbs which Vertumnus could assume, and every one of which sat well on him.⁴

¹ Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 11-18, 41-46 ; compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 688, where he represents Vertumnus speaking of himself to Pomona, the goddess of fruit, and saying, "*Primus habet lætaque tenet tua munera dextra*".

² Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 623-771.

³ Propertius, v. (iv.) 2. 19-40.

⁴ Tibullus, iii. 8. 13 *sq.*

Thus, if we accept the evidence of the poets, Vertumnus was a sort of heavenly harlequin.¹

VI. 421. a celestial image of armed Minerva is believed to have fallen down on the hills of the Ilian city.—The celestial image of Minerva was the famous Palladium, the image of the goddess Pallas, whom the Greeks identified with Athena and the Romans with their goddess Minerva. The Palladium is not mentioned by Homer; but according to the ancient epic poet Arctinus it was given by Zeus to Dardanus and remained in Ilium till the city was captured by the Greeks.² The origin of the image is related more fully by Apollodorus. He says that when Ilus, great-grandson of Dardanus, was founding the city of Ilium, otherwise known as Troy, he prayed to Zeus for a sign, and in answer to his prayer Zeus caused the Palladium to fall from heaven, and Ilus found it lying before his tent. The image was three cubits high, its feet were joined together; in its right hand it held a spear, and in its left a distaff and a spindle.³ According to one account, when Ilus was building the temple of Minerva (Pallas), but before the sacred edifice had been roofed over, the Palladium, a wooden image of the goddess, dropped from the sky into the very place destined for it in the temple.⁴ A more prosaic version of the story was that when Tros was founding Troy he received the image as a gift from a certain philosophic Grand Master named Asius, and that in gratitude for the priceless gift he named the continent Asia after his benefactor.⁵

But whatever the origin of the image, an oracle declared that so long as it remained within the walls of Troy the

¹ As to Vortumnus or Vertumnus see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*², i. 451-455; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 201; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 287 sq.; *id.*, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. s.vv. "Vertumnus" and "Votumna", coll. 219-222, 369-370. Preller and Warde Fowler regard Vertumnus as a genuine Roman god of fruit, whose name is derived from *vertere*, with special reference to the revolution of the year (*vertens annus*). Wissowa regards him as a god of Etruscan origin.

² Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 69. 3.

³ Apollodorus, iii. 12. 3; compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355, quoting Apollodorus.

⁴ Dictys Cretensis, *Bell. Trojan.* v. 5.

⁵ Suidas, s.v. Παλλάδιον; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; J. Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 109, ed. L. Dindorf.

city could not be taken. Being apprised of this oracle by the Trojan diviner Helenus, whom they had captured, the Greeks resolved to steal the Palladium as the only means of ensuring the fall of the otherwise impregnable city. The feat was successfully accomplished by Diomedes and Ulysses in company,¹ though accounts differ as to the precise share which each of them took in the enterprise. According to one account, they made their way into the citadel through a tunnel or a sewer, and putting the sentinels to the sword, carried off the precious image.² Sophocles made the story the theme of a tragedy ;³ and Virgil accepted it, though he omitted the undignified mode in which the heroes effected an entrance into the temple.⁴ In the long speech which Ovid puts into the mouth of Ulysses in the wordy war between him and Ajax for the arms of Achilles, the poet represents the wily hero claiming the whole credit of the exploit, though the murmurs of his hearers obliged him to admit grudgingly that Diomedes had borne a hand in it.⁵ But the braggart cut a very different figure in another version of the tale. When the two comrades, so runs the story, came by night to Troy, Diomedes mounted on the shoulders of Ulysses and so scaled the wall ; but when he was on the top he refused to pull his friend up after him, and going off by himself he secured the Palladium and returned with it in triumph. Carrying the trophy, Diomedes now retraced his steps to the Greek camp, accompanied by his crestfallen companion. But an evil thought struck Ulysses ; he determined to slay Diomedes and appropriate at once the image and the whole glory of the enterprise. So he fell behind his comrade and drew his sword. But the moon was shining, and, as the dastard raised his arm to strike, the shadow of the sword on the ground, or the flash of the blade in the moonbeams, attracted the eye of the wary Diomedes, and facing round he caught

¹ Apollodorus, *Epitome*, v. 9-10, 13 ; Silius Italicus, xiii. 36-50 ; Lesches, *Little Iliad*, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Kinkel p. 37 ; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 69. 2 ; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 42 ed. Potter ; J. Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 109 ed. L. Dindorf.

² Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166 ; Scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis*, 617.

³ *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 34-37 ; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck², pp. 210 sq.

⁴ Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 162-169.

⁵ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 335-356.

his treacherous friend in the act. Ulysses made haste to return his sword to the scabbard with such shuffling excuse as he could devise on the spur of the moment ; but Diomedes was not to be deceived, he tied the traitor's arms behind his back, and drawing his own sword beat him with the flat of it and so drove him back to the camp.¹ This picturesque story appears to have been told in *The Little Iliad*.² The tradition to which the author of *The Little Iliad* gave currency seems to have been the one generally accepted by Greek artists, for on most of the monuments which represent the stealing of the Palladium it is apparently Diomedes and not Ulysses who is carrying the image. Thus in the marble relief known as the *Tabula Iliaca*, which in this part is professedly based on *The Little Iliad*, Diomedes is seen carrying the Palladium in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, while Ulysses follows him.³ The arrival of the Palladium in the Greek camp gave rise to much wrangling among the Greek chiefs for the possession of the precious image, for Ajax also put in a claim for it on the plea of his eminent services in the war ; but on the suicide of Ajax the prize finally remained in the hands of Diomedes.⁴

That the Palladium was stolen from Troy by Diomedes or Ulysses or by both together would seem to have been the ordinary Greek version of the story. But the common Roman belief was that the Palladium had remained in Troy till the city fell, when it was saved from the burning ruins by Aeneas and carried by him to Italy, where it found a final resting-place in the temple of Vesta at Rome ;⁵ there none but the Vestal Virgins were allowed to look on it.⁶ This Roman belief clearly contradicted the Greek tradition,

¹ Conon, *Narrat.* 34 ; Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 8 ; Apostolius, *Cent.* vi. 15 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Διομήδους ἀνάγκη ; Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, p. 493 D.

² Hesychius, *s.v.* Διομήδους ἀνάγκη.

³ See my commentary on Pausanias, i. 22. 6 (vol. ii. p. 264) ; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1143 *sqq.*

⁴ Dictys Cretensis, *Bell. Trojan.* 14-15 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον ; J. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, pp. 108-114.

⁵ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 69, ii. 66. 5 ; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 20 ; Pausanias, ii. 23. 5.

⁶ Plutarch, *Camillus*, 20 ; Lucan, i. 597 *sq.*, ix. 993 *sq.* ; Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i. 328 *sq.*

and it further conflicted with the notion that the city which possessed the sacred image was impregnable, since, on the Roman showing, the presence of the Palladium in Troy had not prevented the capture of the city by the Greeks. Hence in order to reconcile the two versions of the story, or at all events to vindicate the Trojan origin of the image in the temple of Vesta, patriotic Roman antiquaries and their complaisant Greek colleagues resorted to various shifts. They said, for example, that the true Palladium had been carefully concealed in the sanctuary, and that an exact copy of it had been set up in public as a precaution against the felonious attempts of thieves; it was the copy which the ignorant Greeks stole, and the true original which the knowing Aeneas rescued from the flames of the burning city.¹ This version of the story, while it vindicated the Trojan origin of the Palladium in the temple of Vesta at Rome, left unsolved the problem how Troy came to be captured while it still boasted the possession of the sacred image. To meet this difficulty Roman antiquaries accepted the Greek version of the theft of the true Palladium by Diomedes, but maintained that after his settlement in Italy that hero had surrendered the precious image to Aeneas, through whose agency it finally found its way to Rome. The story ran that Diomedes was warned by an oracle or by the goddess Minerva (Pallas) in a dream that he would find no repose from the sorrows and dangers which compassed him about, until he had restored the sacred image to the Trojans to whom it belonged. So he repaired to Lavinium, where the Trojan Aeneas was then laying the foundations of the new city, and offered to give him back the Palladium. But Aeneas was busy offering sacrifice with his head veiled in the orthodox fashion, and he could not interrupt the holy rite even to receive the image. So the Palladium was accepted in his stead by a certain Trojan named Nautes. Hence the worship of Minerva (Pallas) was hereditary in the ancient and illustrious house of the Nautii, but not in the house of the Julii, the descendants of Aeneas. This story of the surrender of the Palladium to

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 69. 2-4, ii. 66. 5. In the former passage Dionysius cites Arctinus as his authority.

Nautes appears to have been told by Varro in his work on the Roman families which traced their lineage to Troy.¹

But yet another story was told in justification of the claim of the Romans to possess the true Trojan Palladium. In the year 85 B.C. the Roman general C. Flavius Fimbria, being in command of an army for the war with Mithridates, treacherously made himself master of Ilium (Troy), put the population to the sword, set fire to the city, and razed it to the ground, leaving not a house or a temple standing. This second sack of Troy was said to be worse than the one it had sustained a thousand years before at the hands of Agamemnon and the Greeks. Among the rest the temple of Athena was burned, together with all the men and women who had sought refuge from the brutal soldiery within its hallowed walls. But in the ruins, we are told, was found the Palladium uninjured, the falling walls having formed as it were an arch to protect it.² To explain the presence of the Palladium at this late date in Troy, it was alleged that when the Trojans of old foresaw the fall of their city, they concealed the precious image in a wall, where it had remained till it came to light in the Roman sack. From Troy it was transported to Rome.³

But the Romans claimed to be in possession of the Palladium long before the second destruction of Troy. For centuries they had regarded the mysterious image in the temple of Vesta as the pledge and guarantee of Roman safety and of the Roman Empire.⁴ In one of his speeches Cicero refers to "that Palladium which is kept in Vesta's

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166, iii. 407, v. 704; Silius Italicus, xiii. 51-78; Solinus, ii. 14; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vi. 69. 1; Festus, s.v. "Nautiorum familia", pp. 164, 165 ed. Lindsay; compare Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, v. 15. 9 sq. Servius twice cites Varro as his authority for the story; in the second passage (on *Aen.* v. 704) he says, "*Quod etiam Varro docet in libris quos de familiis Troianis scripsit*". Dionysius (*l.c.*) calls Nautius (Nautes) a priest of Athena Polias, that is, of Pallas (Minerva); herein he probably followed Virgil, who says (*Aen.* v. 704 sq.) that Pallas had instructed Nautes above all others and had made him illustrious for his skill.

² Appian, *Mithridat.* 8. 53. As to this second sack of Troy compare Livy, *Per.* lxxxiii.; Strabo, xiii. 1. 27, p. 594; Dio Cassius, xxx.-xxxv. Frag. 104 (vol. ii. p. 480 ed. Cary).

³ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166.

⁴ Livy, v. 52. 7, "*Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque, quod imperii pignus custodia eius templi tenetur, loquar?*"; *id.* xxvi. 27. 14, "*Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperii Romani*".

guardianship as the pledge of our safety and Empire".¹ According to the poet Silius Italicus, it was the might of the Palladium which overthrew the Gallic host in 390 B.C., and it was the fear of the image which deterred Hannibal from attacking Rome when he was almost within sight of the walls.²

In the great fire which consumed the temple of Vesta in the reign of Commodus, the Palladium was rescued from the flames by the Vestal Virgins, who carried it along the Sacred Way to the house of the Sacrificial King; the occasion was said to be the first time that the eyes of males beheld the sacred image since the time when it had been brought from Troy to Rome.³ Not many years afterwards the dissolute and crazy emperor, Heliogabalus, had the Palladium removed from the temple to his own bedchamber, on the plea of marrying the virgin goddess Pallas to his namesake Heliogabalus, the Sun-god of Emessa. But on second thoughts he deemed the armed and warlike goddess an unsuitable bride for his soft Syrian god and discarded her for the Carthaginian goddess Astarte.⁴

But the Romans were by no means the only people who claimed to possess the Trojan Palladium. The Argives asserted that the image was with them,⁵ doubtless on the strength of the tradition that it had been carried off from Troy by Diomedes, who would naturally bring it with him on his return to Argos. Again, the Athenians maintained that the Palladium was at Athens, and that it gave its name to their ancient court of justice called "at the Palladium", in which cases of involuntary homicide were tried. The Attic legend ran that on his way home from the Trojan war Diomedes landed by night with the Palladium at Phalerum, and that there he was attacked, through a mistake, by the Athenians under Demophon, who in the skirmish got possession of the image.⁶ In Italy, too, other cities besides

¹ Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 23. 48; compare *id.*, *Philipp.* xi. 10. 24.

² Silius Italicus, xiii. 79-83.

³ Hierodan, i. 14. 4 sq.

⁴ Herodian, v. 6. 3 sq.; compare Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 6. 9, who says that the Emperor caused the image to be gilded and set up in the temple of his god.

⁵ Pausanias, ii. 23. 5.

⁶ Pausanias, i. 28. 8 sq.; Harpocration and Suidas, s.v. ἐνὶ Παλλὰδιῳ; Pollux, viii. 118 sq.; Scholiast on Aeschines, ii. 87, p. 298 ed. Schultz; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 311, lines 3 sqq. A somewhat different version of the story is told by Polyaeus, *Strateg.* i. 5.

Rome boasted of owning the Palladium. Thus the Heraclotes of Lucania affirmed that the image of Athena which adorned their city was the very image of the goddess which had once stood in Troy, and which had shut its eyes in horror at the violation of the virgin Cassandra; and in proof of the identity they alleged that the image might be seen winking down to the beginning of our era at least. The geographer Strabo is our authority for this miraculous image, and he tells us that other Italian cities, including Lavinium in Latium and Luceria in Apulia, similarly claimed to possess the Trojan image of Athena, that is, the Palladium, though apparently the Heraclote Athena was the only one that winked.¹

We may suppose that in all cases the Palladium was an image of immemorial antiquity on which the safety of the city was supposed to depend, and that it was only the great celebrity of the Trojan Palladium which induced so many cities to claim the possession of that famous image and to substantiate the claim by appeals to legend and miracle. Not a few cities in antiquity appear to have rejoiced in the possession of public talismans of the same sort, which were believed to render the cities impregnable. Such, for example, were the locks of the Gorgon Medusa at Tegea in Arcadia,² a stone of a fiery colour at Cyzicus,³ and a tripod buried in the earth at Hylle in Illyria.⁴ The grave of Oedipus at Athens seems to have been regarded as a talisman which secured the safety of the State.⁵ These public talismans may have sometimes consisted of the bones or other relics of some famous person, whether mythical or historical.⁶ In this connexion we may note the curious statement that the Trojan Palladium was made of the bones of Pelops.⁷ The great antiquity of the Palladium, or rather

¹ Strabo, vi. 1. 14, p. 264.

² Pausanias, viii. 47. 5; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 3; Apostolius, *Cent.* xiv. 38; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *πλόκιον Ἰοργάδος*.

³ Joannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, 7, p. 281 ed. Bekker.

⁴ Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 526-536, with the Scholium on line 532.

⁵ Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1518-1534, 1760-1765; Aristides, *Or.* xlv. vol. ii. p. 230 ed. Dindorf.

⁶ On public talismans in general see my commentary on Pausanias, viii. 47. 5 (vol. iv. pp. 433 sq.), and Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 278 sqq.

⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, pp. 41 sq. ed. Potter.

of Palladia in general, is also suggested by the representations of what appear to be worshipful images of a similar type on works of art of the Minoan or Mycenaean age, particularly on gold rings from Mycenae and Cnossus.¹ Professor Martin P. Nilsson argues plausibly that Pallas Athena, whose image was the Palladium, may have been originally the house goddess of the Mycenaean kings.²

VI. 423. **I saw the temple and the place ; that is all that is left there.**—As Ovid here tells us that he saw the temple of Minerva (Athena) at Troy, we must suppose that the temple had been rebuilt after its destruction by Fimbria in 85 B.C.³ The restoration may have been effected by the orders of Julius Caesar, who, posing as a descendant of Aeneas, conferred many favours on the town;⁴ indeed, according to one of the wild rumours which contributed to his unpopularity, he contemplated transferring his residence and the seat of empire to this ancient home of his ancestors.⁵ Writing in exile on the bleak shores of the Black Sea, our author fondly recalled the happy time when, in the company of a dear friend, he had visited the splendid cities of Asia and passed the greater part of a year in Sicily, now driving over the historic land in a swift chariot, now gliding over the blue water in a gaily painted shallop, when even the long hours of a summer day were too short for their sweet discourse.⁶

VI. 425. **Smintheus was consulted.**—The oracular god Apollo Smintheus had a temple at Chryse in the Troad.⁷ Apollo Smintheus is the Mouse Apollo, the epithet being derived from *sminthos*, the Trojan word for "mouse". The natives of the Troad are said to have worshipped mice; tame mice were kept and fed at the public expense in the temple, and white mice had their nests under the altar;⁸ and the statue of the god, a work of the great sculptor Scopas,

¹ J. Sieveking, *s.v.* "Palladion", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 1326 *sqq.* As to the Palladium see further F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909-1912), i. 340-344.

² Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), pp. 417-431.

³ See above, p. 262.

⁴ Strabo, xiii. 1. 27, p. 594.

⁵ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 79. 3.

⁷ Homer, *Il.* i. 35 *sqq.*

⁶ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 10. 21-38.

⁸ Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 39, p. 34 ed. Potter.

represented the deity with his foot on a mouse.¹ The epithet and the symbol have sometimes been interpreted as referring to a mouse totem; but more probably the Mouse Apollo was the divinity who protected farmers against mice.² A small bronze mouse has been found near the site of Alexandria Troas; we may suppose that it was offered to Apollo Smintheus by a farmer whose fields had been ravaged by mice.³ The remains of the temple of Apollo Smintheus were discovered by Captain (afterwards Admiral) Spratt in 1853 and the site was excavated by Mr. W. Pullan for the Dilettanti Society in 1866.⁴

VI. 432. **ever since judgement was given against her in the contest of beauty.**—The goddess Athena (Minerva) was supposed to nurse a grievance against the Trojans because, in the competition for the prize of beauty, the Trojan Paris had awarded the prize, not to her, but to Aphrodite (Venus).⁵ Similarly Juno (Hera), the other defeated competitor, owed the Trojans a grudge for the same reason; the old wound long rankled in her breast.⁶

VI. 432. **Whether it was the descendant of Adrastus, or the guileful Ulysses, or pious Aeneas who carried her off.**—"The descendant of Adrastus" was Diomedes, whose father, Tydeus, settled in Argos and married Deipyle, daughter of Adrastus, king of Argos, by whom he had Diomedes. Thus Diomedes was a grandson of Adrastus through his mother.⁷ Ovid declines to settle the thorny question whether the Palladium was carried off by Diomedes, Ulysses, or Aeneas;⁸ of one thing only he was certain, the holy image was now in Rome.

VI. 437. **Alas, how alarmed the Senate was when the temple of Vesta caught fire.**—This happened in the consulship of Q. Lutatius Catulus and A. Manlius, which fell in the year

¹ Strabo, xiii. 1. 48, p. 604.

² *The Golden Bough*, Part V. *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 282 sq.; and my note on Pausanias, x. 12. 5 (vol. v. pp. 289 sq.).

³ C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (London, 1865), i. 130.

⁴ Captain Spratt, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, v. (1856) pp. 236-242; *Antiquities of Ionia*, Part the Fourth (London, 1881), pp. 40-48, with Plates xxvi.-xxx.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 15 sq., with the note.

⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 25-27.

⁷ Homer, *Il.* xiv. 113-120; Apollodorus, i. 8. 5, iii. 6. 1.

⁸ See above, pp. 259 sqq.

241 B.C.¹ The fire raged through many parts of the city, especially in the neighbourhood of the Forum, with great loss of life and destruction of houses. The conflagration had been preceded by a great inundation of the Tiber, which swept away or undermined all the buildings in the flat parts of Rome. What between water and fire the city was almost wiped out.² The gallant rescue of the Palladium from the flames is often mentioned by ancient writers,³ but by none of them is it described so fully as by Ovid in the present passage. The brave Pontifex Maximus, L. Caecilius Metellus, who saved the image at the expense of his eyesight, was rewarded for his gallantry by being allowed to drive to the Senate-house in a chariot—a privilege otherwise unexampled in Roman history.⁴

VI. 445. **Take up in your virgin hands the pledges given by fate.**—By “the pledges” Ovid here means especially the Palladium, which was regarded as a pledge of the continuance of the Roman Empire. So, in speaking of this event, Cicero describes how the Pontifex Maximus, Metellus, “when the temple of Vesta was burning, threw himself into the middle of the fire and snatched from the flames that Palladium which is kept in Vesta’s guardianship as the pledge of our safety and empire”.⁵ Livy only says generally that the pontiff “snatched the sacred things (*sacra*) from the conflagration”.⁶ The language of Ovid in the present passage is also vague, though from the context it is clear that he had the Palladium specially in mind; indeed, this is plainly implied in the phrase “the goddess whom he had carried off” (line 453). But there were other things on which the safety of the Roman Empire was believed to depend. Servius enumerates seven of them, namely, the conical image (*acus*) of the Mother of the Gods, the earthenware chariot which had been brought from Veii, the ashes of Orestes, the sceptre of Priam, the veil of Iliona, the Palladium, and the sacred shields (*ancilia*).⁷

VI. 457. **it will not be on record that . . . any priestess**

¹ C.I.L. i. 2 p. 138.

² Orosius, iv. 11. 5-9.

³ Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 23. 48; Livy, *Per.* xix.; Valerius Maximus, i. 4. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 141; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iii. 18; Orosius, iv. 11. 9; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 17 (where the MSS. appear to read 'Αντύλος for Μέτελλος).

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 141.

⁵ Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, 23. 48. See also above, pp. 262 sq.

⁶ Livy, *Per.* xix.

⁷ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 188.

defiled her sacred fillets.—Priestesses wore a band (*infula*) round their temples, from which a fillet (*vitta*) hung down on either side. The band was sometimes broad and apparently plain; sometimes it was made of white and scarlet stuff twisted together.¹ The fillets were torn from the head of an unfaithful Vestal before she was buried alive.²

VI. 458. none shall be buried in the live ground.—The Romans often applied the adjective *vivus*, “living”, to inanimate things with various significations. Virgil repeatedly speaks of “living rock” (*vivum saxum*) in the sense of natural, unhewn rock.³ In the same sense Ovid himself, in another passage, has spoken of “living pumice” with reference to a natural cave,⁴ and elsewhere he calls iron “living”, in the sense of natural, unwrought.⁵ The adjective “living” was regularly applied to certain stones which, struck by a nail or another stone, emitted sparks; such stones were carried by scouts for the purpose of kindling a fire.⁶ To the ancients, who conceived of Earth as the universal mother, it was particularly natural to speak of the ground as alive. Ovid himself in the next line but one speaks of the earth as a goddess identical with Vesta. There is therefore no need to alter the reading of the manuscripts, which is at once elegant and Ovidian. See the Critical Note.

A Vestal Virgin found guilty of unchastity was regularly buried alive in an underground chamber close to the Colline Gate, but within the city wall. Hence the place was called the Wicked Field (*Campus Sceleratus*). The chamber was a small one; the access to it was by a ladder. When the time came for the cell to receive its doomed prisoner, there were placed in it a couch, with its coverings, a burning lamp, and a few necessities of life, such as a loaf, a jug of water, milk, and oil. The culprit was first degraded by having the sacred fillets stripped from her head, as the epaulets used to be torn from the shoulders of an officer when he was broken; then

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 538. Compare A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 2014.

² Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* viii. 79. 5.

³ Virgil, *Aen.* i. 167, iii. 688.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 315.

⁵ Ovid, *Amores*, iii. 6. 59. “*Ille habet et silices et vivum in pectore ferrum*”.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 138, “*Plurimum ignis habent ii (lapides) quos vivos appellamus*”.

she was placed on a bier, so muffled and strapped down that she could not utter a sound. Thereupon the mournful procession set out for the place of execution or rather of burial, the order observed being that of a funeral. First came the bier and its bearers, then followed the mourners, the relations and friends, sighing and sobbing. Through the Forum and the streets the melancholy pageant took its way, the people everywhere making way for it in solemn silence and falling in behind, so that when the fatal spot was reached a multitude stood round to witness the closing scene. There the bier halted; the executioner's assistants undid the straps, and raising his hands to heaven the Supreme Pontiff uttered certain mysterious prayers. Then taking by the hand the prisoner, who was still closely muffled, he led her from the bier to the ladder. There he left her and turned away with the other priests, while the guilty, or it might be the innocent, priestess descended step by step into her grave. When she was down, the ladder was drawn up, the opening was closed, and earth heaped on it and beaten down, so that nothing but the fresh colour of the soil betrayed the place of execution and of sepulchre. Plutarch, who may have witnessed the ceremony which he describes, for it was enacted at Rome in his lifetime, has left it on record that, even in a city so inured to scenes of bloodshed, no spectacle was more appalling than this, and no day saw the population plunged in deeper gloom than when a Vestal Virgin was thus led through the streets to her death.¹ Another contemporary, the younger Pliny, who was probably in Rome when Cornelia, the Senior Vestal Virgin, was thus executed by order of the tyrant Domitian, informs us that both she and her alleged paramour, who was scourged to death in the Forum, persisted to the last in asserting their innocence, and that when Cornelia was about to descend the fatal ladder, and her robe caught on it, the executioner held out his hand to help her, but she shrank from it and turned away in horror, thus preserving unsullied to the end the chastity and purity of her person.²

¹ Plutarch, *Numa*, 10; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 96; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 67. 4, viii. 79. 5; Livy, viii. 15. 7 *sq.*; Festus, *s.v.* "Scleratus campus", p. 449, ed. Lindsay; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 206.

² Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 11. As to the execution of Cornelia compare Suetonius, *Domitian*, 8.

Professor Wissowa has argued, with much probability, that the unchastity of a Vestal was regarded not so much as an ordinary crime as a prodigy which endangered the whole country by disturbing the relations of the State to the gods; and that consequently the custom of burying the guilty woman alive was not properly speaking a punishment inflicted on her (for no such punishment was known to Roman law) but rather a mode of expiating the prodigy by getting rid of the source of it, much in the same way as an androgynous human being, who was looked upon as a very alarming prodigy, was regularly disposed of by being drowned in the sea or a river.¹ On the same principle Wissowa would explain the exactly similar mode of putting Antigone to death by burying her alive in an underground chamber.² On his view, for which there is much to be said, Antigone was thought to have polluted and thereby endangered the country by burying in it the body of the traitor Polynices, her brother, who with the help of a foreign foe had attacked his native city; and the pollution had to be expiated by putting away under ground the sister whose natural affection had imperilled the whole State.³

Professor Wissowa might perhaps have strengthened his argument by citing the practice of burying animals alive, which is observed, or at least recommended, as a remedy for cattle-disease and so forth in Germany and other parts of Central Europe, where primitive paganism still lingers in the minds and lives of the peasantry. Thus in the Upper Palatinate they say that when a murrain is raging you must bury a dog alive in front of the threshold of the cattle-stall.⁴ In the Harz mountains they think that if many of your horses die you should bury a horse alive in front of the stable door.⁵ In the Mark of Brandenburg, if you would keep your horses in good health throughout the year, the thing to do is to bury a young blind puppy alive under the

¹ See above, p. 78.

² Sophocles, *Antigone*, 773 sqq.

³ G. Wissowa, "Vestalinnefrevel", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xxii. (1923-24) pp. 201-214.

⁴ *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern* (Munich, 1860-1867), ii. 302, referred to by A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*³ (Berlin, 1869), p. 280, § 439.

⁵ H. Pröhle, "Aus dem Harz", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, i. (1853) p. 202.

manger.¹ At Rosin, in Bohemia, it is or used to be the custom for the people, at the first sowing of the season, to go out to the field by night in a great procession, taking with them a naked girl and a black tom-cat. It is thought to be most important that the cat should be black all over, and a lock is hung about his neck. Behind the cat the people drag a plough to the field. Arrived at the place they dig a deep pit, throw the cat in, and bury it alive.² In a Russian village attacked by an epidemic, "the men and women have been known to cast lots, and the person on whom the lot fell has been buried alive in a pit, along with a cock and a black cat".³ If we knew exactly why people in some parts of modern Europe bury cats, dogs, horses, and even each other alive at the present day, or did so till lately, we might better understand why the Romans buried unfaithful Vestals alive in days of old, and why the Incas of Peru meted out the same punishment to the virgin wives of the Sun who proved untrue to their divine husband.⁴ But the deepest depths of superstition are still unplumbed.

VI. 461. **Then did Brutus win his surname from the Gallaecan foe.**—The Gallaeci or Callaici were a warlike tribe who occupied a considerable territory in the mountains of north-western Spain: they have bequeathed their name with little change to the province of Galicia. They were conquered in 138 and 137 B.C. by Decius Junius Brutus, who hence took the surname of Gallaecus and celebrated a triumph in 132 B.C. This Brutus also founded the city of Valentia, which survives and keeps its name to this day.⁵

VI. 465. **Crassus lost the eagles, his son, and his soldiers at the Euphrates.**—This was in the disastrous battle of Carrhae, fought against the Parthians in 53 B.C.⁶ From the

¹ A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), p. 379, No. 27.

² J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* (Prague und Leipzig, 1864), p. 143, No. 1058. See further A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* (Berlin, 1869), pp. 280 sq., § 439.

³ W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People* (London, 1872), p. 401, quoting Tereshchenko.

⁴ As to the Peruvian custom see note on *Fasti*, vi. 283 (above, pp. 214 sq.).

⁵ Livy, *Per.* lv. and lvi.; Appian, *Hispan.* 71-73 (who wrongly names the general Sextus Junius Brutus); Eutropius, iv. 19; Florus, i. 33. 12; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 5. 1; Strabo, iii. 3. 2, p. 152; Orosius, v. 5. 12; *C.I.L.* i.² p. 176.

⁶ Dio Cassius, xl. 25-27; Plutarch, *Crassus*, 22-31; Livy, *Per.* cvi.

present passage of Ovid we gather that the day of the battle was the ninth of June.

VI. 467. **Why exult, thou Parthian? . . . thou shalt send back the standards.**—Ovid has already alluded to the restoration of the lost standards.¹

VI. 469. **as soon as the long-eared asses are stripped of their violets.**—The asses were crowned on the preceding day, the ninth of June.² The present passage proves that the asses were wreathed with violets as well as with strings of loaves, and that the animals and the mills which they worked had only one day's rest.

VI. 471. **We shall see the Dolphin when the day is put to flight.**—Ovid means that the constellation of the Dolphin rises at evening on June 10. The same date is assigned to the evening rising of the constellation by Columella and Pliny.³ The date is correct for the true evening rising of the Dolphin in the time of these writers; the apparent evening rising of the constellation took place on May 26.⁴

VI. 473. **Now, Phrygian Tithonus, thou dost complain that thou art abandoned by thy spouse.**—This is one of Ovid's inexhaustible circumlocutions for "next morning". The spouse of Tithonus was Aurora or the Dawn, who left her husband every morning to ascend the sky and light up the world.⁵

VI. 475. **Go, good mothers (the Matralia is your festival), and offer to the Theban goddess the yellow cakes.**—The Matralia, that is, the Mothers' Festival, was celebrated in honour of Mother Matuta, an old Italian goddess, whom Ovid erroneously identified with the Greek goddess Ino or Leucothea. That is why in the present passage he calls her "the Theban goddess", for Ino was originally wife of the Boeotian King Athamas.⁶ The festival of the Matralia is marked on the

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 580 *sqq.*, with the note.

² See above, *Fasti*, vi. 311.

³ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 45; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 255.

⁴ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid", *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 148.

⁵ Compare *Fasti*, i. 461.

⁶ Apollodorus, i. 9. 1. Athamas was sometimes described as king of Thebes, sometimes as king of Orchomenus. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241.

eleventh of June in the Tusculan, Venusian, and Maffecian calendars, and also in the calendar of Philocalus.¹ It is also recorded as the festival of Mother Matuta by Festus.² The ancients connected the name of the goddess Matuta with *mane*, "morning",³ and its adjective *matutinus*. Hence Lucretius identified Matuta with the goddess of morning and speaks of her diffusing the rosy dawn through the sky and spreading abroad the light.⁴ Some good modern authorities accept the etymology and the interpretation of Matuta as a goddess of the morning light.⁵ Her worship appears to have been widely diffused in Italy. Thus at Satricum in Latium there was a temple of Mother Matuta, which the Romans spared when they destroyed the town in 346 B.C.⁶ Inscriptions found at Cales in Campania prove that there also the goddess had a temple, though apparently in that town she was known simply as Matuta, without the additional title of Mother.⁷ Her worship is further attested by inscriptions found at Cora and Praeneste in Latium and at Pisaurum in Umbria.⁸ Curiously enough, a Latin inscription recording the dedication of an altar to Mother Matuta has been found near Beyrout in Syria.⁹ At Pyrgi, the port of Agylla (Caere) in Etruria, there was a very wealthy sanctuary of a goddess whom Greek writers variously identified with Leucothea and Ilithyia; she may have been Mother Matuta, whom the Romans, as we learn from Ovid, confounded with Leucothea.

¹ *C.I.L.* i. 3 pp. 216, 221, 224, 226, 320.

² Festus, *s.v.* "Matralia", p. 113 ed. Lindsay.

³ Festus, *s.vv.* "Matrem Matutam" and "Mater Matuta", pp. 109, 154, 155 ed. Lindsay; Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Manum", p. 92 ed. Lindsay; Priscian, *Instit. Gram.* ii. 53 (*Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil, vol. ii. p. 76).

⁴ Lucretius, v. 656 *sq.*

⁵ K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 55; Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, translated by W. P. Dickson (London, 1868), i. 181 note*; L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*², i. 322; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 110; *id.*, *s.v.* "Mater Matuta", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2463; A. von Domaszewski, "Die Festcyclen des römischen Kalenders", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907) p. 341; compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, p. 156.

⁶ Livy, vi. 33. 4, vii. 27. 8, xxviii. 11. 2.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 5384, 5385.

⁸ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 2974, 2981, 3487, 3488, 3489.

⁹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3490 (wrongly numbered 3489), vol. ii. pars i. p. 63.

In 384 B.C. the sanctuary was plundered by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, in a piratical expedition; he carried off large booty, by the sale of which he was enabled to hire a mercenary army for war with the Carthaginians.¹

In a bas-relief carved on a child's sarcophagus, which is now at Venice, we see a female figure driving to the right in a chariot drawn by two horses. In front of the chariot are two boys, who seem to be leading the horses; and beyond the boys, to the right, is a woman sitting with two children at her knees. Behind the chariot is a temple, and in front of it is a draped woman standing and holding up two torches in her hands. Beyond the temple, to the left, are two oak trees, and in front of them is a cart drawn by two bullocks; in the cart stands a draped woman holding her right hand to her lips. The female figure in the chariot has been variously interpreted as Selene (the Moon), Juno Lucina, and Aurora. Mr. L. Curtius would explain her as Mother Matuta in her character of goddess of the morning; while he supposes the woman in the bullock-cart to be a matron driving to the temple of Matuta to celebrate the Matralia.²

In the ritual of Mother Matuta some curious features were observed. None but a wife who had had but one husband (*univira*) might place a wreath on the image of the goddess, and the same rule applied to the image of Womanly Fortune (*Fortuna Muliebris*).³ Similarly only a woman who had been married to one husband might sacrifice at the altars of Patrician Chastity and Plebeian Chastity.⁴ The Romans

¹ Diodorus Siculus, xv. 14. 3 *sq.* (who does not name the goddess); Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i. 20 (who calls the goddess Leucothea); Strabo, v. 2. 8, p. 226 (who calls the goddess Ilithyia and says that the sanctuary was founded by the Pelasgians); Polyaeus, *Strateg.* v. 2. 21 (who calls the goddess Leucothea). As to the identification of the goddess with Mother Matuta compare K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, neu bearbeitet von W. Deecke, ii. 54 *sq.*

² L. Curtius, "Mater Matuta", *Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, vol. xxxviii-xxxix., 1923-1924, Heft 3-4, pp. 479-489.

³ Tertullian, *De monogamia*, 17 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, ii. 1003); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 19; Festus, *s.v.* "Pudicitiae signum", p. 282 ed. Lindsay.

⁴ Livy, x. 23. 3-10 (*Pudicitia Patricia, Pudicitia Plebeia*). But Wissowa has rendered it highly probable that Patrician Chastity was no other than Fortune or Virgin Fortune, whose muffled image in her temple in the Forum Boarium was by some people mistaken for an image of Chastity (*Pudicitia*). See G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 254-260, and below, pp. 294 *sq.*

held in high respect women who in their lives had married only one husband. Such matrons "were honoured with a crown of chastity,"¹ and their fidelity to a single spouse was often recorded on their tombstones.² In the Roman rule which required that only the wife of one husband (*univira*) might perform certain religious acts it is not expressly mentioned that the husband must be alive, but we may conjecture that this was implied, and that widows, even though they had only once been married, would be disqualified by the mere fact of their widowhood, since the pollution of death might be thought to attach to them. If that was so we may compare the rule which in India at the present time requires that certain religious rites may only be performed by women whose husbands are alive. For example, in the two leading Brahman castes of the Konkan (a province of the Bombay Presidency), at a periodical ceremony called *Bodan* five women whose husbands are alive (*suvasinis*) prepare five lamps of wheaten flour and wave them thrice round the face of the family deity, whether god or goddess.³ Similar examples of the application of the rule in India might be multiplied.⁴ It is true that in these Indian cases it is not stipulated that the husband should be the woman's first spouse, but considering the general aversion to the marriage of widows in India we may fairly assume that in most cases at least the living husband is in fact also the first; if that is so, there is a certain parallelism between the Roman and the Indian rules.

VI. 477. **Adjoining the bridges and the great Circus is an open space of great renown which takes its name from the statue of an ox.**—Ovid is here describing the Forum Boarium, or Cattle Market, and his statement is important for its indication of the extent of that large area. We gather that it extended from the Circus Maximus to the bridges and therefore to the river. Ovid does not define the bridges, but they were probably the old wooden bridge (*Pons Sublicius*)

¹ Valerius Maximus, ii. 1. 3; compare Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 105; Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 86.

² J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*², p. 42 note⁶, where more evidence is adduced.

³ R. E. Enthoven, *The Folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 179 sq.

⁴ R. E. Enthoven, *op. cit.* pp. 186, 267, 268, 284, 297, 327.

and the Aemilian bridge (*Pons Aemilius*). We have seen that the Forum Boarium was approached from the Roman Forum through the Velabrum and the Tuscan Street.¹ Accordingly it may have occupied roughly the triangular area now marked by the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro on the north-east, the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin in the south-east, and the modern bridge called the Ponte Rotto on the west. The position of the Ponte Rotto appears to correspond to that of the old wooden bridge (*Pons Sublicius*), and the Aemilian bridge was not far off. Perhaps the four-faced arch, now generally known as the *Janus Quadrifrons*, which stands a little to the south of the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, may have formed the entrance into the Forum Boarium from the Velabrum.² The Forum Boarium or Bovarium, as it was also called, no doubt took its name from the beaves (*boves*) bought and sold there, as the ancients themselves were aware.³ Ovid was mistaken in thinking that the name came from the image of an ox which stood there. That image was made of bronze and is said to have been a work of the famous Greek sculptor Myron; it was brought from the island of Aegina.⁴

Ovid here tells us that King Servius Tullius dedicated a temple to Mother Matuta in the Forum Boarium. The statement is confirmed by Livy, who informs us that afterwards the temple was restored and dedicated afresh by the Dictator Camillus after he had captured Veii in 396 B.C.⁵ In 213 B.C. a great fire, which raged for two nights and a day, levelled with the ground all the buildings between the Carmental Gate (*Porta Carmentalis*) and the Saltworks (*Salinae*), including the temples of Fortune and of Mother Matuta,⁶

¹ See above, pp. 248 sq.

² H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, p. 238, i. 2, pp. 474 sqq.; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 188 sqq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 184 sqq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 395 sqq. As to the relation of the Ponte Rotto to the Aemilian bridge see H. Jordan, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 409 sqq.; J. H. Middleton, *op. cit.* ii. 364; S. B. Platner, *op. cit.* p. 79.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 146; Festus, s.v. "Boarium forum", p. 27 ed. Lindsay; Propertius v. (iv.) 9. 17-20.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 10; compare Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24.

⁵ Livy, v. 19. 6, v. 23. 7; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 5. 1.

⁶ Livy, xxiv. 47. 15. The Saltworks were close to the Porta Trigemina (Frontinus, *De aquis*, 5), which was at the foot of the Aventine (compare

but measures for restoring both temples were taken in the following year.¹ In 196 B.C. L. Stertinius, who had brought back an immense treasure from Farther Spain, employed part of the spoil in building two arches in the Forum Boarium in front of the temples of Fortune and Mother Matuta; these arches were surmounted by gilded statues.² In 174 B.C. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the conqueror of Sardinia and father of the two more famous Gracchi, dedicated a tablet in the temple of Mother Matuta bearing an inscription to the following effect: "Under the command and auspices of the Consul Ti. Sempronius Gracchus the legion and army of the Roman People subdued Sardinia. In that province more than eighty thousand of the enemy were slaughtered or taken. Having achieved a brilliant success, freed the allies, and restored the revenues, the general brought home the army safe and sound and loaded with plunder. He entered the city of Rome a second time in triumph. In memory whereof he presented this tablet to Jupiter."³ Why Gracchus should have dedicated this record of his conquest to Jupiter in the temple of Mother Matuta does not appear.

The site once occupied by the Forum Boarium enjoys the rare distinction of having preserved nearly intact to this day two ancient temples, one of them rectangular, the other circular. Of these the rectangular, now known as the church of S. Maria Egiziaca, is believed by Ch. Huelsen and Th. Ashby to be the temple of Mother Matuta, though others would assign it to Portunus,⁴ while yet others think that it is more probably the temple of Fortune, which also, as we have just seen, stood in the Forum Boarium, and which, like the temple of Mother Matuta, was reputed to have been dedicated by King Servius Tullius.⁵ The temple,

Solinus, i. 8). The Carmental Gate was at the southern foot of the Capitol (H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 1, pp. 237 sq.). Hence the fire described by Livy destroyed all the buildings on the level ground between the Capitol and the Aventine. As to the position of the Saltworks (*Salinae*) see H. Jordan, *op. cit.* i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 172. As to the position of the Porta Trigemina at the foot of the Aventine (on the side of the river) see A. Merlin, *L'Aventin dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 96 sq., 125 sq.

¹ Livy, xxv. 7. 5 sq.

² Livy, xxxiii. 27. 4.

³ Livy, xli. 28. 8-9.

⁴ J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), pp. 118 sq.

⁵ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 27. 7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 194.

whether of Mother Matuta or of Fortune, was converted into a church, and thereby preserved from destruction, in A.D. 872. It faces north and south, parallel to the river, and measures about 66 feet in length by about 40 feet in width. It stands on a platform of travertine about 8 feet high, with a well-moulded plinth and cornice. The columns are of the Ionic order, four in number at each of the narrow ends and seven at each of the long sides. Of these side columns five on each side are engaged, that is, built as pilasters against the wall of the temple, while the remaining two stood free and supported the portico. Thus the temple was of the style technically known as tetrastyle and prostyle. The walls of the temple, together with the engaged columns, are built of tufa, except the angle columns, which are of travertine, as are also the free columns of the portico. Travertine is also employed for the bases of the tufa columns. This use of the harder and stronger stone (travertine) at points of special pressure is very common in Roman buildings, especially those of an early period. The frieze was decorated with graceful reliefs of garlands hanging from candelabra, and ox-skulls, all modelled in hard white stucco (*opus albarium*). The cymatium of the cornice was also enriched with leafy ornaments and had pierced lions' heads at intervals to discharge the rain water from the roof. The whole building was covered externally with hard white stucco, which was once decorated with painting, so that originally the contrast between the dark brown tufa and the white travertine was not visible. The date of this interesting temple, which is one of the best preserved buildings of ancient Rome, cannot be fixed, but from its pure Greek style and the absence of marble it is judged to be earlier than the middle of the first century B.C.¹ The temple was completely restored

¹ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 189-191. Compare R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 516 sq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 185, 190; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*³, pp. 398-401; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, pp. 477 sq., i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 143 note ⁷⁶. Lanciani identifies the temple with that of Fortune; Middleton does not decide between the temple of Fortune and the temple of Mother Matuta. The architectural remains of the temple have been described and illustrated in great detail by E. R. Fiechter ("Der ionische Tempel am Ponte Rotto in Rom", *Mittheilungen der kaiser. deutsch. Archäolog. Instituts*,

in 1925 and opened by Mussolini on the eleventh of November of that year.¹ The other ancient temple, which still stands on the site of the Forum Boarium, is now known as the Church of S. Maria del Sole. We shall notice it again further on.²

VI. 481. **Who the goddess is, why she excludes . . . female slaves from the threshold of her temple.**—Ovid was clearly in doubt as to the nature of Mother Matuta, but, apparently not without hesitation, he identified her with the Greek Ino, otherwise called Leucothea. In this opinion he was not singular; it had been accepted by Cicero before him,³ and it was adopted by not a few writers after him.⁴ If we may judge from the accounts of Ovid and Plutarch, the grounds for the identification of Matuta and Leucothea were the resemblances, real or imaginary, in their myth and ritual. In the first place, as Ovid here remarks, both goddesses excluded slave women from their temples. So far as Leucothea is concerned, this statement is confirmed by Plutarch, who tells us that in his own town of Chaeronea the sacristan used to take his stand before the chapel of Leucothea with a whip and proclaim, "Let no slave, male or female, and no Actolian, male or female, enter in." Further, Plutarch records a curious exception to the rule that at Rome no slave woman might enter the temple of Leucothea (Matuta): the Roman ladies used to introduce a single slave woman into the temple, and then slap her on the cheek and beat her with sticks.⁵ This exclusion of female slaves from the temple was explained by a story that a female slave had been the leman of Athamas, the husband of Ino (Leucothea), and that, when Ino had been raised to the rank of a goddess with the title of Leucothea, she nursed

Römische Abteilung, xxi., 1906, pp. 220-279). He thinks that the topographical indications are too scanty to allow us to identify the temple.

¹ Thomas Ashby, "Recent Excavations in Italy", *The Times Literary Supplement*, February 11, 1926, p. 98. Dr. Ashby thinks that the temple belonged to Mother Matuta rather than to Fortune.

² See below, note on *Fasti*, vi. 547, pp. 289 sq.

³ Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 12. 28, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 19. 48.

⁴ Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and 224; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241, and on *Georg.* i. 437; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 21; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 14; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 16; *id.*, *Camillus*, 5.

a grudge at the whole class of female slaves and refused to admit one of them into her holy precinct. Plutarch calls the leman Antiphera, and says that she was an Aetolian by birth,¹ which would explain why Aetolians were excluded from the chapel of Leucothea at Chaeronea.

A second reason alleged for identifying Matuta with Leucothea was that in the rites of Matuta women might not pray for their own children, but only for their sisters' children.² To explain this curious rule it was pointed out that Leucothea (Ino) was unlucky in her own children, but very fortunate in her sister Semele's child, who was no other than the great god Dionysus (Bacchus); for Semele and Ino were sisters, being both daughters of Cadmus. Moreover, Ino was said to have nursed her sister's child Dionysus; but as for her own children, one of them, Learchus, had been killed by his own father in a fit of madness, and the other, Melicertes, only escaped the paternal fury to fall with his mother into the sea and be drowned; indeed, according to one version of the story, the mother Ino herself went mad and threw Melicertes into a boiling cauldron, then leaped with the dead body into the sea.³ Obviously this Greek legend furnishes no real explanation of the Roman custom which forbade women to pray to Mother Matuta for their own children, but allowed or enjoined them to pray for their sisters' children. Modern scholars have suggested that the custom may be derived from a system of kinship in which women were counted more nearly related to their sisters' children than to their own.⁴

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 551-558; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 16.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 559-562; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 17; *id.*, *Camillus*, 5. 2. In this last passage Plutarch says that "they embrace their sisters' children rather than their own". In both the passages of Plutarch the word translated "sisters" (τῶν ἀδελφῶν) is ambiguous; it might equally mean "brothers" or "brothers and sisters". It is only the analogy of Ino and Semele (see below) which seems to show that it was for their sisters' children alone that women prayed in the rites of Matuta.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 485-500; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 16; Apollodorus, i. 9. 2, iii. 4. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229-231; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 334; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 86; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* Introduction, pp. 514, 515 ed. Boeckh; Pausanias, i. 44. 7 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 464-542; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241.

⁴ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 111; Professor J. H. Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, p. 176.

But no such system of kinship has yet, so far as I am aware, been discovered. It is true that under a strict system of mother-kin, men are reckoned to be more nearly related to their sisters' children than to their own, but even under such a system a woman's own children are never thus put in a position of inferiority to her sisters' children.

Perhaps, therefore, we should look for the explanation of the custom in another direction. Servius tells us that at Rome, when the rites of Ceres were being celebrated, nobody might name his father or daughter.¹ This suggests that in the rites of Matuta women may have been forbidden to mention the names of their children, but permitted to mention the names of their sisters' children, and that therefore they could not pray for their own offspring, but were free to pray for their nieces and nephews, the children of their sisters. Many peoples of lower culture are very reluctant to mention their own names and the names of their kinsfolk. The reluctance is based on the belief that the name is a part of the person just as truly as his head or any other part of his body, and that it is equally liable to be harmed by the maleficent arts of sorcerers and other evil-disposed persons. Hence arises a custom of keeping a person's real name secret and calling him by another name, which, not being his real name, cannot be used as a handle to injure him. Thus, for example, "a man's name among Negro peoples is, in fact, identified with his very soul, and for this reason a child is often (*e.g.* by the Hausa) given two names—the first a secret name whispered into his ear by his mother, and the second a name for daily use, which is a designation rather than a real name. This custom has been noted also among the Mandingo of the French Sudan."² Such notions and customs are by no means confined to what we call the savage and barbarous races of mankind, for an analysis of the words for "name" in the various languages of the Aryan family points to the conclusion that "the Celts, and certain other widelyseparated Aryans, unless we should rather say the whole

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 58, "*Romae cum Cereris sacra fiunt, observatur ne quis patrem aut filiam nominet*".

² C. K. Meek. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 1925), ii. 82.

Aryan family, believed at one time not only that the name was a part of the man, but that it was that part of him which is termed the soul, the breath of life, or whatever you may choose to define it as being.”¹ A striking example of the survival of this primitive superstition among the civilized Greeks was the custom which required that the names of the priests who officiated at the Eleusinian mysteries might not be uttered in their lifetime ; to pronounce them was a legal offence.² From two inscriptions found at Eleusis it appears that to ensure the secrecy of the names they were engraved on plates, probably of bronze or lead, and sunk in the depths of the sea.³

The kinsfolk whose names custom forbids people to pronounce are usually relations by marriage, including especially the husband, the wife, the husband's father, and the wife's mother. Prohibitions to mention the names of blood relations are not so frequent, still they occur not uncommonly ; among the relations whose names are thus tabooed are parents and brothers and sisters.⁴ The prohibition to mention the names of sons and daughters appears to be rare and exceptional. Thus in some parts of Northern New Guinea, if a child is called after its deceased paternal grandfather, the mother may not call the child by its name, but must employ some other name for the purpose ;⁵ but this is merely part of the general prohibition which forbids a woman to mention the names of her husband's relations. In many of the northern tribes of Nigeria, notably the Fulani, “ parents display an excessive modesty with regard to their first-born child, who is always addressed and referred

¹ Professor (Sir) J. Rhys, “Welsh Fairies”, *The Nineteenth Century*, xxx. (July-December 1891) pp. 566 sq. On this subject see further *The Golden Bough*, Part II. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 318 sqq.

² Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 10. See W. R. Paton, “The Holy Names of the Eleusinian Priests”, *International Folk-lore Congress*, 1891, *Papers and Transactions*, pp. 202-214 ; Aug. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 253-255 ; P. Foucart, *Les Grandes Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1900), pp. 28-31.

³ G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (Berlin, 1878), No. 863 ; *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, col. 79 sq. Further, a reference of Eunapius (*Vitae Sophistarum*, p. 475, Didot edition) shows that the name was revealed to the initiated.

⁴ *The Golden Bough*, Part III. *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 335 sqq.

⁵ M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, N.D.), pp. 171 sq.

to impersonally. He is commonly treated with neglect and disrespect. There is, however, an interesting exception to this rule. A first-born son who happens to bear a striking resemblance to his deceased grandfather would be given his grandfather's name and treated with the utmost respect by his parents. He will even, by his own father, be called *Baba* or 'Father'. This respect is clearly due to the belief in reincarnation. The child embodies the spirit of his grandfather, and the child's father, therefore, treats him with the same deference that he had shown to his own father during his lifetime. Hausa and Fulani commonly avoid using the name of their younger brother's first-born son, and they even refer to, or address, impersonally the first-born son of a close friend."¹ "Special dangers surround a first-born child, and it is no doubt for this reason that the Hausa father and mother pretend to be ashamed of and scorn their first-born, and refuse even to give him a name at all."² Among the Murhas, a Dravidian caste of India, "parents do not call their eldest son by his proper name, but by some pet name".³ Among the Halbas, a caste of cultivators in the Central Provinces of India, "a child must not be called by name at night, because if an owl hears the name and repeats it the child will probably die".⁴

Similarly we may perhaps suppose that for certain reasons now unknown it was deemed unlucky for women to pronounce the names of their own children in the rites of Mother Matuta, and that they were thus precluded from praying for their offspring to the goddess. Still this would not explain why they might pray for their sisters' children instead. No satisfactory solution of the problem has yet been found.

VI. 485. **Through the compliance of Jupiter with her request Semele was consumed with fire.**—When Semele was with child by Jupiter (Zeus), she asked her divine lover to visit her with the same majesty with which he visited his wife Juno

¹ C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, i. 235.

² C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, ii. 81. Compare G. A. Krause, "Merkwürdige Sitten der Haussa", *Globus*, lxi. (1896) p. 375, "The first-born son (among the Hausas) is never called by his parents by his name; indeed, they will not even speak with him if other people are present."

³ R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), iv. 256.

⁴ R. V. Russell, *op. cit.* iii. 198.

(Hera). He came in thunder and lightning, and Semele was blasted in the flame. The divine infant Dionysus was snatched from her womb, and after being sewn up for a time in his father's thigh was given to Ino to nurse.¹

VI. 489. **Athamas was haunted by the furies and by a delusive vision.**—He is said to have taken his little son Learchus for a deer and to have shot him as such.² According to Ovid, the madman mistook his wife and her two children for a lioness with her cubs, and snatching Learchus from her arms dashed his head against the rock.³

VI. 495. **A land there is, shrunk within narrow limits, which repels twin seas.**—Ovid is describing the Isthmus of Corinth. There Ino, with her infant Melicertes, is said to have leaped into the sea from a cliff called the Molurian Rock. Hence the rock was deemed sacred to her and her child under their divine names of Leucothea and Palaemon. A dolphin landed the drowned child on the Isthmus; Sisyphus, king of Corinth, found the corpse, buried it, and instituted the Isthmian games in honour of the dead infant.⁴

VI. 499. **Panope and her hundred sisters received them scatheless.**—Panope was one of the sea-nymphs, the Nereids, the daughters of Nereus and Doris. Their number, according to Hesiod and Hyginus, was fifty. Lists of them are also given by Homer and Apollodorus.⁵ Their names and numbers are scrutinized, with the gravity and precision of a census, by a learned German mythologist.⁶ However, in reckoning the Nereids at a hundred the learned Ovid had the support of Plato, who in his imaginary city describes a gorgeous temple of Poseidon, where was a golden image of the god himself driving a chariot drawn by winged horses, while round about him were a hundred golden images

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 503 sq., 715-718.

² Apollodorus, i. 9. 2, iii. 4. 3.

³ Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 512-519.

⁴ Pausanias, i. 44. 7 sq., ii. 1. 3, Scholiast on Pindar, *Introd.* p. 515 ed. Boeckh; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229-231; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* viii. 1 (who mentions the Scironian rocks instead of the Molurian).

⁵ Homer, *Il.* xviii. 38 sqq.; Hesiod, *Theog.* 240-264; Apollodorus, i. 2. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* pp. 28 sq. ed. Bunte.

⁶ Weizsacker, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 207 sqq.

of Nereids sitting on dolphins; "for the men of those days", adds the philosopher, "reckoned the Nereids at that number".¹

VI. 501. before Ino had yet received the name of *Leucothea* and before her boy was called *Palaemon*.—The story was that, after Ino had leaped with her child *Melicertes* into the sea, the two were changed into sea-divinities with the new names of *Leucothea* and *Palaemon*.²

VI. 503. the grove of *Semele* or the grove of *Stimula*.—This grove attained notoriety as the scene of the infamous Bacchanalian orgies, the discovery of which horrified Rome in 186 B.C.³ It must have been situated near the Tiber, for in the rites matrons, garbed as Bacchanals, with streaming hair, used to rush down to the river bearing lighted torches, which they plunged into the water, and then carried back flaring.⁴ From Ovid's account we infer that the grove was near the *Aventine*.⁵ Hence we may conjecture that it was situated in the northern part of the modern *Prati del Testaccio*, at the western or south-western foot of the *Aventine*, below the church of *S. Maria Aventina* or of *S. Anselmo*.⁶ The name of *Stimula* is clearly derived from *stimulus*, as *Augustine* rightly observed.⁷ She seems to have been a genuine old Roman goddess, the personification of the impulses which stimulate and excite the mind. Her identification with *Semele*, the mother of *Bacchus*, probably dates from the celebration of the Bacchanalian rites in her grove. The confusion of the Roman goddess with the Greek heroine long persisted, for the grove of *Semele* is mentioned in a late inscription found at Rome.⁸

VI. 506. *Evander* was king of the place. Ovid has already described the coming of the Arcadian *Evander* to Rome and his settlement on the *Aventine*.⁹

VI. 519. The *Oetaean* hero had driven the *Iberian* kine to

¹ Plato, *Critias*, 9, p. 116 C-E.

² Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3, with the other authorities cited above, p. 280 note 3.

³ Livy, xxxix. 12. 4.

⁴ Livy, xxxix. 13. 12.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 518.

⁶ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 171.

⁷ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 11.

⁸ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 7551.

⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 469 sqq.

the river bank.—Hercules is called the Oetaean hero because he is said to have burned himself on a pyre on Mount Oeta.¹ Afterwards he was worshipped as a hero with the annual sacrifice of a boar, a bull, and a ram at Opus and Thebes. The Athenians were the first to set the example of worshipping Hercules as a god.² The exact spot on Mount Oeta where the body of Hercules was supposed to have been consumed was known as the Pyre down to Roman times. In 191 B.C. the Roman general M'. Acilius ascended the mountain and offered sacrifice to Hercules on the spot.³ An annual festival of fire seems to have been held, in which an effigy was probably burnt on a pyre on the traditional scene of the tragedy.⁴ The site of the pyre was discovered on the top of Mount Oeta by the Ephor, Dr. Pappadakis, in August 1920. It is a walled enclosure about 65 feet square. The area enclosed by the stone walls was found to be covered with a thick layer of ashes interspersed with many bones of animals, sherds of pottery, bronze weapons and tools, and two archaic statuettes of Hercules. Two sherds on which a dedication to Hercules was scratched in archaic letters render the identification of the site certain. Professor Martin P. Nilsson is probably right in supposing that here a bonfire was lighted every year, and that it was the custom of kindling the fires on the mountain which gave rise to the legend of the death of Hercules on the pyre.⁵ Ovid has already described how Hercules drove the Erythean kine from Spain to Rome.⁶

VI. 524. doth the same deity who harasses me harass thee also ?—The jealous Juno (Hera) was supposed to bear a grudge both at Hercules, for being an illegitimate son of Jupiter (Zeus), and at Ino, for having nursed Dionysus, another of her husband's bastards.

VI. 526. she was ashamed at having been goaded into crime by the furies.—Driven mad by Juno (Hera) for nurtur-

¹ Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1191 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 3-5; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 229 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36.

² Diodorus Siculus, iv. 39. 1.

³ Livy, xxxvi. 30. 2 *sq.*

⁴ Lucian, *Amores*, 1 and 54.

⁵ M. P. Nilsson, "Fire-festivals in ancient Greece", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xliii. (1923) pp. 144 *sq.*; compare *id.* xlv. (1925) p. 224.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543 *sqq.*

ing Dionysus, the unhappy Ino had plunged her infant son Melicertes into a kettle of boiling water, and then leaped with his body into the sea.¹ According to others, it was her dead son Learchus, slain by his frenzied father Athamas, whom Ino had put into the kettle.² In any case she would naturally feel a delicacy at mentioning these painful incidents in presence of her son come to life again.

VI. 529. *thou didst enter the home of loyal Carmentis.*—Ovid has already told the story of the prophetic Carmentis, the mother of Evander, and given a specimen of her prophecies.³

VI. 533. *Even to this day she loves cakes at the festival of the Matralia.*—At the festival of the Matralia cakes of a special sort were baked by matrons in a hot earthen pot (*testu*); hence they were called *testuacia*.⁴ The "Tegean priestess", who is said to have first baked these cakes, is Carmentis, who is called Tegean because she came from Arcadia, of which Tegea was a principal city. Elsewhere Ovid employs the adjective Tegean in the same extended sense.⁵ Near Epidaurus Limera, in Laconia, there is a small deep pool which in antiquity was called the Water of Ino. People used to throw barley loaves into it; if the water kept the loaf, it was a good omen for him or her who had thrown it in, but if the water rejected the loaf the omen was evil.⁶ Thus the Greek Ino, like the Italian Matuta, to whom she was equated, would seem to have loved cakes.

VI. 547. *he whom we name Portunus will be named Palaemon in his own tongue.*—Portunus was a genuine old Roman god; Virgil calls him Father Portunus, and represents him as giving a shove to one of the galleys in the race instituted, with other games, by Aeneas in honour of his dead father Anchises.⁷ The antiquity of his worship is indicated by the circumstance that it was in charge of a special flamen (*Flamen Portunalis*), one of whose duties, oddly enough, was to anoint the arms of the god Quirinus with ointment drawn from a special vessel, coated with pitch,

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3.

² Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229-231; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* Introduction, p. 514 ed. Boeckh.

⁴ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 106.

⁶ Pausanias, iii. 23. 8.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 461 *sqq.*

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 545, 627.

⁷ Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241.

called a *persillum*.¹ A festival called the Portunalia was held in his honour on the seventeenth of August; it is mentioned in many ancient calendars, of which three (the Amiternine, the Vallensian, and the Allifanine) add a note explaining that the Portunalia was a festival celebrated in honour of Portunus at the Aemilian bridge.² Hence, when Varro tells us that "the Portunalia is named after Portunus, to whom on that day a temple was dedicated in the port of Tiber (*in portu Tiberino*) and a festival instituted",³ we may assume that "the port of Tiber", and with it the temple of Portunus, was at Rome near the Aemilian bridge, and not at the mouth of the Tiber, at Ostia, as Th. Mommsen supposed.⁴

As to the nature and functions of Portunus the ancients seem to have hesitated whether to derive his name from *portus*, "port", "harbour", or from *porta*, "gate", and consequently whether to regard him as the guardian deity of harbours or of gates. Ovid clearly took the former view, for he says (line 546) that Portunus was given all authority over harbours. Cicero seems to have been of the same mind, for he derived the name of Portunus from *portus*, "port";⁵ and Virgil apparently adopted the same opinion, for in his description of the race between the galleys he makes Portunus help the winning galley "into port".⁶ Consistently with this etymology, Virgil's old commentator Servius, in a note on this passage, describes Portunus as "a marine god who presides over harbours".⁷ On the other hand, Festus, or rather his abbreviator Paulus, informs us that "the guardianship of the key was thought to be with Portunus, who was supposed to hold a key in his hand and was thought to be the god of gates".⁸ A scholiast on Virgil says that Portunus was usually painted holding a key in his hand.⁹ Varro combined both etymologies and functions, for he described Portunus

¹ Festus, s.v. "Persillum", pp. 238, 239 ed. Lindsay.

² C.I.L. i.³ pp. 217, 225, 240, 244, 248, 325.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 19.

⁴ Th. Mommsen, in C.I.L. i.³ p. 325.

⁵ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 26. 66.

⁶ Virgil, *Aen.* v. 240-242, "*portu se condidit alto*".

⁷ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241.

⁸ Festus, s.v. "Claudere", p. 48 ed. Lindsay.

⁹ Scholiast on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 437 (Lion's edition of Servius, vol. ii. p. 225).

as "the guardian of harbours and gates".¹ In favour of the connexion of Portunus with gates rather than with harbours it has been pointed out that the temple of Janus, who in one at least of his aspects was certainly a god of gates, was dedicated on the same day as the temple of Portunus, that is, on August 17.² Taking this along with his emblem the key, which was also an emblem of Janus,³ we may perhaps conclude with Wissowa that Portunus was primarily a god of gates (*portarum*) and only secondarily a god of harbours (*portuum*). There seems to be reason to think that originally *portus* and *porta* differed only in sound, not in sense.⁴

The site of the Aemilian bridge, near which stood the temple of Portunus, is not certain, but it seems to have coincided roughly with that of the modern Ponte rotto, now removed.⁵ We have seen⁶ that in the flat ground on the left bank of the Tiber at this point, there are two well preserved ancient temples which have been converted into churches under the names of S. Maria Egiziaca and S. Maria del Sole, and that the former has been conjecturally identified by Huelsen with the temple of Mother Matuta. The same eminent topographer would identify the church of S. Maria del Sole with the temple of Portunus.⁷ Whatever its original name may have been, the temple seems to date from a restoration in the reign of Augustus. It is a graceful little edifice, circular in shape, and measuring about 33 feet in diameter. In design it closely resembles the temple of Vesta in the Forum, for which it used to be mistaken by the ignorant. It stands on a platform built of tufa about six feet high, and was approached by a flight of eight, marble

¹ Varro, quoted by a Scholiast on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241 (printed in Lion's edition of Servius, vol. ii. p. 317), "*Portunus, ut Varro ait, portuum portarumque praeses*".

² *C.I.L.* i.² p. 325.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 99.

⁴ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 112; *id.*, *s.v.* "Portunus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 2785 sqq.; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 202-204.

⁵ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 409 sqq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 51, 69.

⁶ Above, pp. 277 sqq.

⁷ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 143 note¹⁰. Compare H. Jordan, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 432 note ^{4a}, i. 2. p. 485; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 190 sq.

steps, which ran all round the temple. The circular colonnade comprised twenty columns of the Corinthian order; all but one are standing. The whole of the entablature and the upper part of the circular wall are missing; the roof is modern. The whole temple in its restored form was built of solid blocks of white marble, with the exception of the circular platform (*podium*). This construction in solid blocks of marble is rare among the existing remains of ancient Rome. We have seen that the Regia, or House of the King, adjoining the Forum, was another example of this handsome and substantial style of building.¹ The marble blocks of which the wall of the temple is built are made to appear smaller than they really are by having false joints cut in them, so as, by multiplying the apparent number of courses, to deceive the eye and produce an impression of greater size than the building really possesses. This deceptive mode of imparting an appearance of size and dignity to their edifices was practised also by the Greeks, from whom the Romans probably borrowed it. Excavations conducted in the early part of the nineteenth century appear to prove that the temple of the Augustan age rests on a structure of the Republican period, the foundations and steps of which were not removed but merely covered by the new and more splendid superstructure of marble.²

VI. 551. **You ask why she forbids female slaves to approach her.**—This question, which puzzled Plutarch also, has already been put and the ancient answer given to it by anticipation.³ That answer, set forth by Ovid in the present passage, is of course no real solution of the problem. Perhaps the prohibition was based on a general unwillingness, shared by Greeks as well as Romans, to allow slaves to participate in religious rites, which they were supposed to pollute by their presence. At a celebration of the Megalesia or games in

¹ Above, p. 199.

² H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 2, p. 478; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 191-193; R. Lanciani, *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 518-520 (who identifies the temple with that of Mother Matuta); O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 190 sq.; S. B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 401; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 143 note ⁷⁶.

³ Above, pp. 279 sq.

honour of the Idaean Mother in the theatre, the rascally Clodius collected a great mob of slaves and let them loose on the stage and on the audience, who, tightly packed in their seats, could hardly make their way out through the narrow exits. In his speech on the subject Cicero is very voluble in denouncing the enormity of the sacrilege.¹ Slaves were also excluded from participation in the Secular Games.² Whenever a bird of ill omen perched on the Capitol, the superstitious Emperor Claudius, in his capacity of Pontifex Maximus, used to perform a ceremony of expiation, himself reciting the form of words from the rostra, while the assembled people gave the responses; but before mounting the pulpit for this solemn mummary he took care to have the Forum cleared of all slaves and base mechanics.³ At Athens no slave woman might join in the procession in honour of the Two Goddesses (Demeter and Persephone) or enter their sanctuary.⁴ So, too, slaves and foreigners appear to have been excluded from sacrifices offered at Athens to Zeus, Protector of Property (*Ktesios*).⁵ No slave might take part in the festival celebrated every fourth year at Plataea in honour of the men who had fallen in the great battle with the Persians; it would have been deemed improper, we are told, that a slave should assist in the homage paid to the soldiers who had died in the cause of freedom.⁶ In the island of Cos no slave might enter the temple of Hera when sacrifices were being offered to the goddess.⁷ At the sacrifices offered to Phorbas as a hero in Rhodes, only freemen were allowed to officiate; for a slave to approach the place of sacrifice would have been a desecration.⁸

VI. 553. **One of thy handmaids, daughter of Cadmus.**—The daughter of Cadmus is Ino. She was said to be a daughter of Cadmus by his wife Harmonia.⁹ The name of

¹ Cicero, *De haruspicum responsis*, chs. 11-12, §§ 22-26.

² Zosimus, ii. 5.

³ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 22.

⁴ Isaeus, vi. 49-50.

⁵ Isaeus, viii. 16.

⁶ Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21. 3.

⁷ Macareus, in the third book of his *History of Cos*, cited by Athenaeus, vi. 81, p. 262 c.

⁸ Athenaeus, vi. 82, p. 263 a. As to the worship of Phorbas in Rhodes compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 58. 5. As to the exclusion of slaves from religious rites in antiquity see further H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 96 sq.; Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen, 1910), pp. 123-125.

⁹ Apollodorus, iii. 4. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2.

the handmaid who supplanted Ino in her husband's affection is reported to have been Antiphora.¹

VI. 556. **his wife gave toasted seed-corn to the husband-men.**—This accusation brought against Ino has already been twice noticed by Ovid in the present work.²

VI. 559. **let not an affectionate mother pray to her on behalf of her own offspring.**—This strange rule has already been discussed.³

VI. 563. **Rutilius . . . in thy consulship thou shalt fall by the hand of a Marsian foe.**—In the Social or Marsic war the consul, P. Rutilius Lupus, was defeated and slain by the Marsians at the River Tolenus. This happened in 90 B.C.; from the present passage of Ovid we learn that the battle was fought on the eleventh of June. The general's legate, the veteran Marius, who was stationed lower down the river, was first apprised of the disaster by the sight of corpses floating by on the water. He had in vain warned his superior, but less experienced, officer to use greater caution in dealing with so formidable an enemy.⁴ In the following year (89 B.C.) the consul, L. Porcius Cato, was also slain in battle with the Marsians.⁵ Titus Didius served in the Marsic war.⁶ The present passage of Ovid (lines 567-568) appears to be the only record of his death in that war. It is possible, though not probable, that Ovid mistook him for L. Porcius Cato.

VI. 567. **slain on the same day.**—The Latin is "*Pallantide caesus eadem*". Here Ovid uses Pallantis as a synonym for Aurora, the goddess of Dawn. Elsewhere he employs the same expression,⁷ sometimes in the form of Pallantias.⁸ Apparently he regarded Aurora as a daughter of the Titan Pallas, but what authority he had for this genealogy does not appear. Hesiod makes Aurora (*Eos*) a daughter of

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 16.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 628, iii. 853 *sq.*

³ Above, pp. 280 *sqq.*

⁴ Livy, *Per.* lxxiii.; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 5. 43; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 16. 4; Orosius, v. 18. 11-13.

⁵ Livy, *Per.* lxxv.; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 6. 50; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 16. 4; Orosius, v. 18. 24.

⁶ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 5. 40; Velleius Paterculus, i. 16.

⁷ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 70.

⁸ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 373, *Metamorph.* ix. 421, xv. 191.

Hyperion and Thia, and therein he is followed by Apollodorus and Hyginus.¹

VI. 569. **The same day, Fortune, is thine, and the same place.**—Ovid means to say that King Servius Tullius dedicated a temple to the goddess Fortune on the same day and in the same place as he had dedicated a temple to Mother Matuta; the day was the eleventh of June, the place was the Forum Boarium or Cattle Market.² Servius Tullius is said to have been devoted to the worship of Fortune. Having risen from the condition of a slave to that of king of Rome, he looked on Fortune as the author of his rise and greatness, and he testified his gratitude to her, not only by building temples in her honour, but by dedicating many chapels or shrines to her, under a variety of epithets, in many parts of the city. Long lists of these chapels or shrines, traditionally said to have been instituted by him, have been transmitted to us by Plutarch.³ In addition to these minor sanctuaries he is reported to have founded two regular temples in honour of the goddess, one in the Forum Boarium, the other, under the title of Fors Fortuna, on the banks of the Tiber outside the boundaries of the city.⁴ It is of the temple in the Forum Boarium that Ovid speaks in the present passage. He tells us that it was founded on the same day (June 11) as the temple of Mother Matuta, and the two temples appear to have stood very near each other, for they are repeatedly mentioned together. Thus the great fire which raged in this part of the city in 213 B.C. is said to have destroyed the temples of Fortune and of Mother Matuta;⁵ and both temples were repaired together in the following year.⁶ Again, as we have already seen,⁷ in 196 B.C., L. Stertinius set up two arches, surmounted by gilded statues, in the Forum Boarium before the temples of Fortune and Mother Matuta.⁸

¹ Hesiod, *Theog.* 371-374; Apollodorus, i. 2. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30 ed. Bunte.

² See above, *Fasti*, vi. 477-480, with the note.

³ Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 74.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 27. 7; Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 17. The *Τύχη ἀνδρεία* of Dionysius, which would answer to *Fortuna Virilis* in Latin, must be corrected by the Fors Fortuna of Varro.

⁵ Livy, xxiv. 47. 15.

⁶ Livy, xxv. 7. 6.

⁷ Above, p. 277.

⁸ Livy, xxxiii. 27. 4.

In the temple of Fortune in the Forum Boarium the chief object of interest was a mysterious statue muffled up in two robes, thrown one upon the other. The statue was popularly supposed to represent King Servius Tullius himself, and on this supposition Ovid proceeds to dilate at some length. The view was naturally suggested by the peculiar robes in which the figure was wrapt, for these were of a particular sort called wavy (*undulatae*), which was believed to have been worn by the Roman kings. But more probably, perhaps, the statue was an image of Fortune herself, as some persons, including Pliny, believed. Pliny tells us that the royal garments, in which the image of Fortune was clothed in her temple, had belonged to Servius Tullius and had been worn by him, and that they lasted undecayed and unravaged by moths for five hundred and sixty years down to the time of Sejanus in the reign of Tiberius.¹ The image or the statue is said to have escaped uninjured from the great fire which consumed the temple.² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who took the image to represent Servius, tells us that it was made of gilt wood, and that its archaic style contrasted obviously with the modern style of all the decorations that dated from the restoration of the temple after the fire. He speaks as if he had seen the image itself under its wrappings. It was regarded, he says, with veneration by the Romans down to his own time.³ The muffled image of Fortune in this temple was by some people erroneously regarded as an image of Chastity (*Pudicitia*),⁴ doubtless on account of her costume. Livy seems to have made this mistake in a passage where he speaks of a shrine or temple of Patrician Chastity in the Forum Boarium.⁵ To

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 194 and 197; Varro, *De vita Populi Romani*, lib. i., quoted by Nonius Marcellus, *s.v.* "Undulatum", p. 278 ed. Lindsay, "*Et a quibusdam dicitur esse Virginis Fortunae, ab eo quod duabus undulatis togis est opertum, proinde ut olim (non ed. Lindsay p. 278) reges nostri et undulatas et praetextatas togas soliti sint habere*". In this passage Varro does not mention Servius Tullius, but that he referred to the royal garments worn by that king is rendered certain by the passage of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 194, in which he quotes Varro as his authority for the statement, "*factamque ab ea (Tanaquil) togam regiam undulatam in aede Fortunae, qua (scil. toga) Ser. Tullius fuerat usus*".

² Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 11; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 625 sq.

³ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 40. 7.

⁴ Festus, *s.v.* "Pudicitiae signum", pp. 282, 283 ed. Lindsay.

⁵ Livy, x. 23. 3, "*in sacello Pudicitiae Patriciae quod in foro boario est ad aedem rotundam Herculis*". A few lines lower down the historian mentions the

this image of Fortune virgins appear to have dedicated their girlish robes at marriage ; hence the goddess here took the epithet of Virgin.¹ With this muffled image of Fortune we may compare the images of Ilithyia at Athens and Aegium, which were draped from head to foot.²

We have seen that the ancient temple which was converted into a church under the name of S. Maria Egiziaca is by some authorities thought to have been the temple of Fortune, while others prefer to assign it to Mother Matuta.³

VI. 577. she was wont to enter his house by a small window (*fenestra*), hence the gate bears the name of *Fenestella*.—The situation of this gate is unknown. It is twice mentioned by Plutarch, who tells the same story in explanation of the name, adding in one passage that beside the gate there was the so-called Bedchamber of Fortune, and suggesting as an alternative explanation of the name that on the death of Tarquin the Elder his wife Tanaquil had addressed the people from a window of the palace and persuaded them to accept Servius for their king.⁴

VI. 581. after the murder of Tullius the common folk were bewildered by the death of the pacific old man.—Similarly Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that when Servius Tullius was murdered by the orders of his successor Tarquin the Proud, there was a great tumult throughout the city and loud lamentation for the death of the king ; hence, fearing an outburst of popular indignation, Tarquin forbade them to carry the corpse through the Forum in the usual fashion or to accord it any funeral honours. The dead king's widow contrived to smuggle the body out of the city by night and to inter it in a common grave.⁵ The same historian informs

Patriciae Pudicitiae templum, obviously referring to the same edifice. As to this passage, and the misinterpretation of the image of Fortune as an image of Chastity (*Pudicitia*), see G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 254-260 ; and above, p. 274 note ⁴.

¹ Arnobius, *Adversus nationes*, ii. 67, "*Puellarum togulas Fortunam defertis ad Virginealem ?*" That Arnobius is here speaking of Fortune in the Forum Boarium is rendered highly probable by the passage of Varro quoted above (p. 294 note ¹), where the Virgin Fortune is undoubtedly the image of Fortune in her temple in the Forum Boarium.

² Pausanias, i. 18. 5, vii. 23. 5.

³ See above, p. 277.

⁴ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 36 ; *id.*, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10. As for Tanaquil's speech from the window see Livy, i. 41. 4, and above, p. 236.

⁵ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 40. 5.

us that, having been raised to the throne by the favour of the people, Servius had made it a part of his policy to conciliate the great mass of the citizens, including the poorer classes, by his popular measures ; indeed, he was suspected of a design to abdicate and to transform the constitution into a democracy. Hence the nobility, eager to regain the power which they had lost, conspired against him and used Tarquin as their tool to effect his downfall.¹ To the same effect Livy records that the rule of Servius Tullius was mild and moderate, and that according to several authorities he had it in his mind to resign the crown, and would have carried out his intention if a wicked conspiracy had not cut short his plans for the liberation of the country.²

VI. 587. **Having accomplished her marriage at the price of crime, Tullia used to incite her husband.**—Tarquin the Elder left two sons or grandsons (for on this point Roman historians differed) named Lucius Tarquinius and Arruns Tarquinius. The two brothers were of very different characters : the elder bold, ambitious, unscrupulous ; the younger mild, gentle, and upright. In order to ensure his throne against any designs which they might form against it, Servius Tullius, the successor of their father or grandfather Tarquin the Elder, married the two young men to his two daughters, both named Tullia after their father. Now the two daughters differed as far from each other in temperament as did the brothers with whom they were mated ; for the elder sister, married to the elder brother Lucius, was mild and gentle ; but the younger sister, married to the younger brother Arruns, was fierce, aspiring, and ready to trample on any obstacle she might encounter in the path to power. In vain this tigress, this ancient Lady Macbeth, urged her gentle husband to imbrue his hands in the blood of her own father and so to grasp the crown ; Arruns shrank with horror from the devilish proposal. Foiled in this direction, the younger Tullia appealed to his ambitious brother and suggested that they should each murder their milksop spouse, then marry, and with their combined forces assassinate her father the king. With this suggestion, which jumped with

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 40. 1-4.

² Livy, i. 48. 9.

his own inclination, Lucius readily closed. Arruns and Tullia the elder were soon disposed of, though in what way we are not told; the two murderers were now man and wife and prepared to march to the throne over the dead body of the wife's father. It is at this point that Ovid takes up the tragic tale.¹

VI. 597. **he, private man though he was, took his seat upon the lofty throne.**—In the following account of the assassination of King Servius Tullius our author follows the narrative of Livy, with which the more detailed narrative of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is in substantial agreement. Taking advantage of harvest time, when the plebeian supporters of the king were away at work in the fields getting in the corn, Tarquin assumed the royal robes, and attended by a body of conspirators, with swords concealed under their cloaks, repaired to the Senate-house, where he took his seat on the throne and ordered the herald to summon the Senators to meet King Tarquin in the Senate-house. Hearing of what was afoot, King Servius hurried to the place and upbraided the traitor with his treason. Hot words passed between them, till at last the king, goaded beyond endurance, rushed at the usurper and tried to push him from the throne. In a contest of strength the weak old man was immediately vanquished. Tarquin snatched him up, bore him, loudly expostulating and calling for help, to the door of the Senate-house, and hurled him down the steps. Bruised and streaming with blood, the king gathered himself up and, attended by a handful of faithful followers, was making his way home to his house on the Esquiline, when he was overtaken by the emissaries of Tarquin and butchered. To this murder Tarquin is said to have been instigated by his wife, the king's own daughter Tullia, who, hearing of the affray, drove in a mule-car to the Senate-house, saluted her husband by the title of king, and urged him to consummate that day's work by the despatch of her aged father. Her advice was taken; the murderers were sent, and did their work. Tullia drove home, and in a narrow lane leading up to the Esquiline came upon the dead body of her father weltering in his gore. The very mules, we are told, took fright at

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 28-30; Livy, i. 42. 1, i. 46.

the sight, and the driver would have reined them up ; but the wicked woman snatched the footstool from under her feet, and hurling it at his head ordered him to drive over the corpse. He obeyed, and in a chariot splashed with the blood of her father, her own garments bespattered with the same red drops, the unnatural daughter, now a queen, reached her home. The lane in which, hounded, as it was thought, by the furies of her murdered sister and her murdered first husband, she trampled on her father's body, was ever afterwards known as the Wicked Street.¹

VI. 601. **Servius himself, at the foot of the Esquiline hill, where was his palace, fell murdered.**—The place is defined more exactly by Livy, who says that, in going home, Servius "had arrived at the top of Cyprian Street, where the sanctuary of Diana was till lately, and the chariot was turning to the right into the Urbian Slope in order to ascend the Esquiline Hill".² Solinus tells us that Servius lived on the Esquiline "above the Urbian Slope".³ But instead of Urbian Slope we should probably read in both passages the Virbian Slope (*Clivus Virbius*), as has been ingeniously pointed out by Mr. A. B. Cook.⁴ There was a Slope of Virbius (*Clivus Virbi*) at Aricia,⁵ otherwise called the Arician Slope,⁶ which led up to the famous sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis, where the goddess was said to have brought her dead favourite Hippolytus to life again under the name of Virbius.⁷ It would be natural that the slope leading up to the sanctuary of Diana on the Esquiline Hill at Rome, like the slope leading up to her more celebrated sanctuary on the Alban Hills, should be named after her beloved Virbius, whose unfamiliar name might easily be changed by copyists into Urbius. Cyprian Street, from which the Urbian or Virbian Slope turned to the right to ascend the Esquiline, is mentioned by Varro, who calls it Ciprian Street (*vicus Ciprius*) and says that the name was derived from a Sabine word *ciprum*, meaning "good",

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 38-39 ; Livy, i. 47-48.

² Livy, i. 48. 6.

³ Solinus, i. 25.

⁴ A. B. Cook, in *The Classical Review*, xvi. (1902) p. 380, note ³. Compare *id.*, *Zeus*, ii. (Cambridge, 1925) pp. 400 *sq.*

⁵ Persius, vi. 56.

⁶ Martial, ii. 19. 3, xii. 32. 10.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 263-266, vi. 737-756.

because Sabine citizens had taken up their abode in that quarter. He adds that Wicked Street was hard by, and he explains the name of that street in the same way as Ovid and the historians.¹ The same explanation is also given by Festus.²

VI. 611. *she dared to touch the temple, her father's monument.*—By the temple Ovid means the temple of Fortune dedicated by Tullia's father Servius. The draped image in the temple, as we have seen, probably represented the goddess herself, but Ovid took it to be a statue of Servius, and supposed that it had been undraped, until, shocked at the approach of Tullia, the statue had called aloud for drapery to hide from its sight the abhorred features of the unnatural daughter.

VI. 619. *That day on which the statue of Servius shall be laid bare by unmuffling his face will be the first day of modesty cast to the winds.*—In this passage, as Wissowa has pointed out,³ Ovid seems to allude to the opinion that the muffled statue in the temple of Fortune was an image of Chastity or Modesty (*Pudicitia*).⁴

VI. 625. *This temple was once burnt, yet the fire spared the statue.*—This happened in the great conflagration of 213 B.C.⁵

VI. 626. *Mulciber himself rescued his son.*—Mulciber was an old epithet applied to the fire-god Vulcan. Ovid has already made use of it in the present work.⁶ The ancients themselves were uncertain as to its meaning and derivation. Some derived the epithet from the verb *mulcare*, "to beat, bruise", and explained it with reference to Vulcan's weak feet and limping gait.⁷ But more usually, and more probably, the word was derived from *mulcere*, "to soften"; and in explanation it was alleged that fire softens all things, particularly iron in the process of smelting.⁸ On this theory Mulciber was the fire-god in his function of a smith or

¹ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 159.

² Festus, s.v. "Sceleratus vicus," pp. 450, 451 ed. Lindsay.

³ G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 259.

⁴ As to this opinion see above, p. 294.

⁵ Livy, xxiv. 47. 15. See above, p. 293.

⁷ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 724.

⁸ Festus, s.v. "Mulciber," p. 129 ed. Lindsay; Macrobius, *Saturn.* vi. 5. 2; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 724.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 554.

smelter of iron. To this it has been objected by Wissowa that in Latin the verb *mulcere* is never thus applied to the softening of metal by fire, and that in the time to which the epithet Mulciber belongs Vulcan was not regarded as the patron of smiths and metal-working, but purely as the god of fire in its devouring and destructive character. Hence he would plausibly explain Mulciber as an epithet applied to the fire-god in a propitiatory sense to induce him to abate and mitigate (*mulcere*) the ravages of a conflagration. This explanation tallies perfectly with the proper sense of the verb, and is in accordance with the practice of the ancients, who commonly employed euphemisms in speaking of the divine powers of which they stood in fear. Further, the explanation is strongly confirmed by a dedication to Vulcan in which the deity is described as "mild (*mitis*) or Mulciber".¹ According to Vitruvius, the temple of Vulcan was built outside the walls of Rome for the express purpose of guarding the buildings in the city against the danger of destruction by fire.² To English ears the name of Mulciber is most familiar in Milton's sonorous line, "And in Ausonian land | men called him Mulciber".³

VI. 627. **For the father of Tullius was Vulcan.**—The following story of the miraculous birth of Servius Tullius from a virgin mother impregnated by the fire-god is told in substantially the same form by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Pliny, and Arnobius.⁴ For the sake of comparison it may be worth while to tell the story as it is related by the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He says that in Corniculum, a city of Latium, there dwelt a man of kingly race named Tullius, who was married to a wife Ocrisia, the fairest and most virtuous woman in the city. When the city

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3295, "Volk. miti sive Mulcibero".

² Vitruvius, i. 7. 1, "Extra murum Veneris Volcani Martis sana ideo conlocori uti . . . Volcanique vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videantur liberari". See further G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 171 sqq.; *id.*, s.v. "Mulciber," in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 3224 sq.; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 230 sq.

³ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 739 sq.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 2; Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 204; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 18.

was captured by the Romans, Tullius fell fighting, and his wife, then gone with child, was awarded as a prize to Tarquin the Elder, king of the Romans, who handed her over to his wife Tanaquil as a handmaid. Having learned the history of her handmaid, the queen soon set her free and treated her with high distinction. But before her emancipation Ocrisia gave birth to a son, who was named Tullius after his father and Servius to indicate the servile condition of his mother. Such was the rationalistic version of the birth of King Servius Tullius, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself preferred.¹ But he immediately proceeds to tell a different version of the story, which he says (and we have every reason to believe him) he found in many Roman histories. It runs as follows. On the hearth of the palace, where the Romans were accustomed to burn in sacrifice the first portions of their meals, there appeared a male organ of generation above the fire. Ocrisia was the first to perceive it when she brought the usual offerings of cakes to the fire, and she at once went and told the king and queen. When Tarquin heard of the portent and saw it for himself, he was lost in wonder, but his queen Tanaquil, who was a soothsayer second to none in Etruria, informed her husband that from the woman who should mate with the phantom on the royal hearth an infant was destined to be born who should be of superhuman nature. Her prediction was confirmed by the other soothsayers; therefore the king resolved that, since Ocrisia had been the first to whom the portent was revealed, she should consort with the phantom. So Ocrisia was dressed as a bride and shut up alone in the chamber where the phantom had been seen. There the god or spirit, whether it was Vulcan or the genius of the house, had intercourse with her and vanished, leaving her with child, and in due time she gave birth to Servius Tullius. In corroboration of this story it was alleged that in his childhood the marvellous infant was one day sitting about noon in a cloister of the palace, and that being drowsy he fell asleep, and as he slept fire flashed from his head. It chanced that the child's mother and the queen passed through the cloister just then, and they and all their suite

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 1.

saw the flame of fire, which continued to gleam from the child's head till his mother ran up and wakened him, and then it vanished with his sleep.¹

A similar story of the miraculous birth of Romulus and Remus is told by Plutarch on the authority of a certain Promathion, who wrote a history of Italy. The story runs thus: There was a certain king of Alba Longa named Tarchetius, a very lawless and cruel man. His house was haunted by a strange phantom in the likeness of the male organ of generation, which rose out of the hearth and continued there for many days. Now there was an oracle of Tethys in Etruria, and from the oracle there came to Tarchetius a message that a virgin must lie with the phantom, for that thus she should conceive a son famous for valour and fortune and of surpassing strength. The king communicated the oracle to one of his daughters and bade her lie with the phantom. But the haughty princess disdained to do so and sent a handmaid in her place. When her royal father learned what she had done, he flew into a passion and ordered both damsels to instant execution. But Vesta, the goddess of the hearth, appeared to him in a dream and forbade him to commit the murder; instead he was commanded to put the damsels in prison, with orders to weave a web, and with a promise that, when the web was finished, they would be given in marriage. Cheered by this prospect, the girls devoted their days to the loom; but by night, while they slept, there came women by the king's orders and undid the web; so the marriage day never dawned for the girls. But in time the handmaid gave birth to twins, who were Romulus and Remus.²

In both these stories the phantom with whom the woman consorts is clearly the spirit or god of the fire, and in the second tale his bride is expressly said to be a virgin. The protection accorded to her by the goddess Vesta suggests that the damsel was a Vestal Virgin, and this suggestion is confirmed by the orthodox Roman legend, in which the mother

¹ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 2. The narrative of Plutarch (*De fortuna Romanorum*, 10), though briefer, agrees so closely with that of Dionysius that the two may be drawn from a common source. Plutarch, like Ovid and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 204), spells the mother's name Ocesia.

² Plutarch, *Romulus*, 2.

of Romulus and Remus was a Vestal Virgin impregnated by Mars. We may suspect that in the original story of the birth of Servius his mother Ocrisia was also a Vestal Virgin; the worship which she paid to the hearth by taking offerings to it speaks in favour of this view.

A like tale was told of yet another Latin king, Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste. It is said that once on a time there were two brothers. They had a sister, and one day while she sat at the hearth, a spark leaped out of the fire and entered her womb, and she conceived. When her child was born, she cast it away at the temple of Jupiter, but virgins, going to draw water, found the infant beside the fire, which was near the spring. Hence the child was esteemed the son of Vulcan, and he was called Caeculus, because he blinked with his eyes, as people do in smoke. Well, after he had led the life of a robber for a long time, he gathered a multitude together and proceeded to found the city of Praeneste in the mountains. And when people flocked from the neighbourhood to witness some games which he was holding, he boasted before them all that he was a son of Vulcan. But they did not believe him. So he prayed to Vulcan that he would be pleased to acknowledge him for his son, and the fire-god answered his prayer and surrounded the whole assembly with a flame of fire. The proof was complete and final. The doubters and unbelievers were now satisfied that he was indeed the son of Vulcan.¹ The legend is briefly alluded to by Virgil, who says that every age believed King Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste, "to have been begotten by Vulcan among the rural flocks and found at the hearths".²

Such stories seem to prove that Latin kings were often believed to be the sons of the fire-god by virgin mothers, who conceived by sitting at the hearth and receiving the divine spark into their wombs. Such beliefs confirm the theory that the Vestal Virgins were regarded as the wives of the Fire-god, and that as such they were forbidden to have carnal intercourse with mortal men.³

¹ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 678.

² Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 678-681.

³ See above, pp. 182 sq.; and further *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. pp. 195 sqq.; H. J. Rose, "De religionibus antiquis Quaestiunculae tres," *Mnemosyne*, N.S., liii. (1925) pp. 410-413.

VI. 636. His begetter gave a token of his paternity when he touched the head of Servius with gleaming fire. — This portent is similarly described by Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, and Dionysius; it was in his childhood and while he slept that the head of Servius was thus seen to shine with a flame of fire.¹ Virgil has described, in language which Ovid may have here had in mind, how similarly an innocuous flame shone from the head of the infant Iulus, son of Aeneas, and played about his hair and temples. The poet adds that the parents of the child were alarmed at the sight, but that the grandfather greeted it as a happy omen, for which he thanked Jupiter.² Virgil has also told how in like manner fire was seen to play about the hair of the virgin Lavinia, the future wife of Aeneas and mother of the Julian line, and how the portent was accepted as an omen of her future greatness.³ Thus it appears as if a crest of fire, or perhaps simply a halo or aureole, seen round the head of a child, was a traditional omen of future royalty; perhaps in every case it may have been thought to prove that the child had been miraculously begotten by the fire-god.

VI. 637. To thee, too, Concordia, Livia dedicated a magnificent shrine, which she presented to her dear husband. — In 15 B.C. a wealthy and luxurious Roman knight, named Vedius Pollio, a friend of Augustus, died and bequeathed his house at Rome and his estates in Campania to the Emperor. The man was infamous for his cruelty as well as for his luxury. He kept huge lampreys in ponds and threw such of his slaves as displeased him into the water to be devoured by the fish. On succeeding to the inheritance, Augustus at once razed the house of this wretch to the ground and built on it a colonnade or portico which he named after his wife the Colonnade of Livia (*porticus Liviae*), as he did not wish Pollio to have any monument to his memory in Rome.⁴ But he did not dedicate the colonnade till 7 B.C.⁵ The building was decorated with ancient pictures and seems to have been

¹ Livy, i. 39. 1 sq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 241; Plutarch, *De fortuna Romanorum*, 10; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 2. 4.

² Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 679-691.

³ Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 71-80.

⁴ Dio Cassius, liv. 23; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 4. As to the luxury and cruelty of Pollio compare Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 10; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 77.

⁵ Dio Cassius, liv. 8. 2.

a favourite promenade of loungers.¹ Strabo speaks with admiration of the magnificence of the Promenade of Livia, as he calls it.² One walk in the open air was overarched and shaded by the spreading boughs and foliage of a single vine.³ The situation and general plan of the colonnade are known from three fragments of the ancient Marble Plan of Rome and from drawings made in the sixteenth century of the ruins which were then visible. We thus learn that the colonnade was on the north side of the Oppian Hill, directly fronting the Suburan Slope (*Clivus Suburanus*), near the place now occupied by the church of S. Lucia in Selci, a little to the west of the church of San Martino ai Monti. In shape it was a spacious quadrangle, with a colonnade running round the four sides. The shrine of Concord mentioned by Ovid would seem to have been a small square edifice in the centre of the quadrangle.⁴

VI. 649. **The next day has no mark attached to it which you can note.**—"The next day" is June 12, and Ovid means that in the calendar or calendars which he consulted he found no mark or note attached to that day. So he passes over the day and goes on to June 13, that is, the Ides. The ancient calendars which have come down to us agree with the observation of Ovid in attaching no special mark or note to June 12.

VI. 650. **On the Ides a temple was dedicated to Unconquered Jupiter.**—The Ides (the 13th) of June is marked as a festival of Jupiter in the Venusian and Tusculan calendars,⁵ but the Ides of every month were sacred to Jupiter.⁶ The temple of Unconquered Jupiter here mentioned by Ovid appears to be otherwise unknown. A temple dedicated to Victor Jupiter on the Ides of April (April 13) has been recorded by Ovid under that date.⁷

VI. 651. **And now I am bidden to tell of the Lesser Quinquatrus.**—The festival of the Greater Quinquatrus fell on

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* i. 71 sq.

² Strabo, v. 3. 8, p. 236.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiv. 11.

⁴ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 315 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 451 sq.

⁵ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 216, 221, 320.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 56, with the note.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 621 sq., with the note. Compare Aust, *De aedibus sacris populi Romani*, pp. 12, 32.

five days in March, namely March 19-23.¹ The evidence of Ovid as to the function of the flute-players at the Lesser Quinquatrus (*Quinquatrus minusculae*) is confirmed by the evidence of several ancient writers. Thus Festus writes: "The Ides of June are called the Lesser Quinquatrus, because that day is a festival of the flute-players, who worship Minerva; the proper festival of that goddess is the Quinquatrus in the month of March".² To the same effect Varro observes: "The Ides of June are called the Lesser Quinquatrus on account of their similarity to the Greater, because flute-players then keep holiday and roam about the city and assemble at the temple of Minerva."³ So, too, Censorinus says that "at the Lesser Quinquatrus, that is, on the Ides of June, the flute-players are free to wander through the city drunk, wearing masks, and clad in what costume they please."⁴ And Valerius Maximus, without mentioning the day of the festival, tells us that "the college of flute-players is wont to attract the eyes of the vulgar in the Forum, when, in the middle of serious business both public and private, they play in concert, clad in motley costume and their heads covered with masks".⁵ Leave to wear masks at these revels appears to have been granted to the flute-players by C. Plautius,⁶ who was censor along with Appius Claudius in 312 B.C.⁷ A curious monument of this permission is to be seen in coins (*denarii*) issued about 45 B.C. by a member of the same family, L. Plautius Plancus. On the obverse of these coins we see a mask in full face, sometimes with horns, sometimes with serpents twined among the hair, in the style of the heads of Medusa; sometimes the lips are closed, sometimes they seem to be open in a grin, as if showing the clenched teeth. On the reverse of the coins is figured Aurora holding a torch and leading the chariot of the Sun,⁸ perhaps in allusion to the happy morn when the masked flute-players returned to Rome from their exile at Tibur.⁹ Horace alludes

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 809 *sqq.*, with the note.

² Festus, *s.v.* "Minusculae Quinquatrus", pp. 134, 135 ed. Lindsay.

³ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 17.

⁴ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xii. 2.

⁵ Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. 4.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 685 *sq.*

⁷ Livy, ix. 29. 5.

⁸ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 325-327.

⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 683 *sqq.*

to the long gown worn by a flute-player, where he speaks of him trailing it across the stage.¹ The gown (*stola*), a long robe descending to the feet, was properly the garment of a Roman lady.² Hence Plutarch speaks of the flute-players wearing women's dress.³ The gown (*stola*) was also worn by lyre-players.⁴ Ovid proceeds to explain the masks and apparently also the long gowns worn by flute-players as disguises originally adopted to conceal them when they returned to Rome in defiance of the decree of the Senate.⁵ The explanation is no doubt historically baseless.

VI. 655. **thus did Tritonia answer me.**—Tritonia was a synonym for Athena, because, according to one account, she was a daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian Lake in Libya,⁶ or because she was born or brought up beside the Triton, a river of Libya or Bocotia.⁷ The corresponding Homeric synonym for Athena was Tritongenias,⁸ which was explained by the ancients in a great variety of ways.⁹ Ovid applies the name Tritonia indifferently to Minerva, as here, and to Athena, whom, like the Romans generally, he identified with Minerva.¹⁰

VI. 659. **The flute played in temples, it played at games, it played at mournful funerals.**—The music of the flute accompanied all prayers in temples,¹¹ and it played also while victims were being sacrificed;¹² it accompanied the triumphal march of the troops to the Capitol,¹³ the solemn march of the processions to the Circus Maximus,¹⁴ and the funeral march of mourners to the grave or to the pyre.¹⁵ This last plaintive fluting the Flamen (Dialis) was not allowed to hear.¹⁶ The

¹ Horace, *Ars poetica*, 216, "*Tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem*".

² Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 3. 51 sq., *Tristia*, ii. 251 sq.; Tibullus, i. 6. 68.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 55.

⁴ Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, iii. 13. 3.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 685 sqq.

⁶ Herodotus, iv. 180.

⁷ Pausanias, ix. 33. 7; Apollodorus, i. 3. 6.

⁸ Homer, *Il.* iv. 515, viii. 39, xxii. 183, *Od.* iii. 378.

⁹ Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iv. 515, viii. 39, and on *Od.* iii. 378; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 519.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 783, v. 250, 270, vi. 1.

¹¹ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xii. 2.

¹² Cicero, *De lege agraria*, ii. 34. 93.

¹³ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xii. 2.

¹⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72. 5 and 13.

¹⁵ Festus, s.v. "Funebres tibiae", p. 82 ed. Lindsay; Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 1. 48; Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 84. 4; Dio Cassius, lxxiv. 5. 3.

¹⁶ Festus, s.v. "Funebres tibiae", p. 82 ed. Lindsay.

flute-players formed a college or guild, which is mentioned in inscriptions.¹

VI. 663. **the aedile had ordered that the musicians who accompanied funeral processions should be ten, no more.**—A law of the Twelve Tables restricted the number of flute-players at a funeral to ten.² From Ovid's statement we gather that the law was enforced by the aediles, and deeply resented by the college of flute-players.

VI. 665. **The flute-players went into exile from the city and retired to Tibur.**—The following story of the exile and return of the flute-players is told also by Livy, Valerius Maximus, and Plutarch.³ Livy's account of the event is as follows. In the year 311 B.C. the flute-players retired in a body to Tibur, because they were indignant at an ordinance of the censors of the previous year (Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius), which forbade them to feast in the temple of Jupiter. Hence there was nobody left in the city who could play music at the sacrifices. Moved by the impediment thus thrown in the path of religion, the Senate sent envoys to Tibur for the purpose of securing the repatriation of the flute-players. The authorities at Tibur received the envoys politely and promised their assistance; they summoned the flute-players to the town hall and exhorted them to return to Rome. But argument and exhortation proved vain; the musicians roundly refused to budge. So the magistrates of Tibur resolved to compass by craft the object which they could not effect by persuasion. On a feast day they invited the flute-players on the pretext that they were to play at the banquet, and when they came they plied the votaries of the Muses with wine till they sank into a drunken sleep. In this state of inebriation the unconscious musicians were hoisted into waggons and carted back to Rome, and they never knew where they were till they woke next morning to find themselves, with aching heads, in the middle of the Forum, sitting up in the waggons and staring at the crowd which had gathered to welcome them home. To induce the tuneful choir not to desert the

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 2049, 4965.

² Cicero, *De legibus*, ii. 23. 59; *Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui*, ed. O. Gradenwitz⁷ (Tübingen, 1909), p. 36.

³ Livy, ix. 30. 5-10; Valerius Maximus, ii. 5. 4; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 55.

city a second time, they were granted the privilege of perambulating the city three days every year in costume, discoursing their music and playing their tipsy pranks to their hearts' content ; and such of them as accompanied the rites of religion on their flutes were allowed to enjoy again the privilege of feasting in the temple.¹ The account of Valerius Maximus is similar, but he adds that the masks which the flute-players wore on these perambulations were to hide their blushes at having once been overtaken in drink and thereby circumvented.²

The narrative of Plutarch agrees so closely with that of Ovid that both writers must have drawn on a common source ; for Plutarch, like Ovid, attributes the successful stratagem to the ingenuity of a freedman at Tibur and not to the concerted action of the magistrates. Like Ovid, too, he says nothing about the flute-players being deprived of the right of feasting in the temple, but ascribes their dudgeon to the displeasure they felt at the legislation of the Decemvirs (451-449 B.C.), who stripped them of the honours which had been conferred on them by King Numa. It is possible that Plutarch may here have confused the Censor Appius Claudius of 311 B.C. with the Decemvir Appius Claudius of 451 B.C., and so have dated the secession of the flute-players about a hundred and forty years too soon. But it is also possible that he had in mind not so much the persons of the Decemvirs as their legislation, the code of the Twelve Tables ; for by one of the laws of that code, as we have seen, the number of flute-players at a funeral was restricted to ten, and from Ovid we learn that this restriction was enforced by the aediles and resented by the college as a grievance. In any case Plutarch or his copyist has erred in dating the licensed perambulation of the flute-players on the Ides of January instead of on the Ides of June.³

VI. 666. **once upon a time Tibur was a place of exile !—**
This line was clearly written by the poet in banishment, when he remembered sweet Tibur, with its hanging woods and tumbling waters, and contrasted it with the bleak northern landscape and the dreary expanse of the stormy Euxine that

¹ Livy, ix. 30. 5-10.

² Valerius Maximus, ii. 5. 4.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 55.

stretched away to the horizon before his eyes. He has repeated the same sad thought in another poem written in exile.¹

VI. 676. **here comes at this moment the master of thy rod.**—The rod (*vindicta*) was not one to beat slaves with; it was the one with which the freedman had been touched in the presence of the praetor at the formal ceremony of manumission. The messenger pretends that the freedman's old master is coming, perhaps to reclaim him as a slave. "In manumission by *vindicta* the State was represented by the praetor. The *vindicta* or *festuca* was a rod or staff, representing a lance, the symbol of dominion, with which the parties in a real action (*vindicatio*) touched the subject of litigation as they solemnly pronounced their claim. Accordingly it was used in a suit respecting freedom (*liberalis causa*), for this, as status is a real right (*ius in rem*), was a form of real action, and was sometimes prosecuted by way of genuine litigation, sometimes was merely a solemn grant of liberty, that is, a species of alienation by surrender in the presence of the magistrate (*in iure cessio*). In a *liberalis causa* the slave to be manumitted, being the subject of the fictitious litigation, could not himself be a party, but was advocated by a *vindex* or *adsertor libertatis*, who in later times was usually represented by the praetor's lictor. The *adsertor*, grasping the slave with one of his hands, and touching him with the *vindicta*, asserted his freedom."²

VI. 685. **Plautius commanded that their faces should be covered with masks.**—C. Plautius was one of the censors in 312 B.C. His colleague in the censorship was Appius Claudius. According to Livy, it was the action of these censors that drove the flute-players into exile.³ If Ovid is right, one of the censors must have relented and helped the exiles to evade the vigilance of his sterner colleague. The manuscripts of Ovid assign the credit of this indulgence to Appius Claudius, but the coins issued by the

¹ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 81-84.

² E. Poste, *Gai Institutiones or Elements of Roman Law by Gaius* ⁴ (Oxford, 1904), pp. 23 sq. As to the ceremony of manumission by touching a slave with the rod (*vindicta*) compare Gaius, *Institut.* i. 17; Cicero, *Topica*, 2. 10; Livy, ii. 5. 10; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 7. 75-77; Pliny, *Epist.* vii. 16. 3.

³ Livy, ix. 29. 5, ix. 30. 5. See above, p. 308.

Plautian family at a later date appear to claim it for their ancestor.¹

VI. 691. **now they are allowed to wear their new garb on the Ides.**—According to Livy, the licence granted to the flute-players to roam the city in their quaint costume extended to a period of three days in the year.²

VI. 694. **why that day is called Quinquatrus.**—In dealing with the Greater Quinquatrus, which fell in March, Ovid has already expressed the opinion that the festival was so called because it lasted five (*quinque*) days. But we have seen that this opinion was erroneous.³

VI. 697. **I was the first, by piercing boxwood with holes wide apart, to produce the music of the long flute.**—The following story is told somewhat more fully by Hyginus. His version runs as follows. It is said that Minerva was the first to make a flute out of a stag's bone, and that she came to a banquet of the gods to play upon it. But when Juno and Venus laughed at her, because her eyes were blue-grey and she puffed out her cheeks in playing, she was thought ugly and her music ridiculous. So she went away to the woods of Ida and came to a spring, and there as she played she beheld herself in the water, and she saw that they were right to laugh at her. Hence she threw away the flute and prayed that whoever should pick it up might suffer a grievous punishment. Now Marsyas, son of Oeager, a shepherd, being one of the satyrs, found the flute; and by assiduous practice he contrived to draw sweeter sounds from the instrument every day, till at last he even challenged Apollo to a musical contest, in which the god was to play on the lyre. Apollo accepted the challenge, and the Muses were appointed umpires. They gave their verdict in favour of Marsyas, whereupon Apollo turned his lyre upside down, and still the strings gave out as sweet a strain as before. But Marsyas could not in like manner invert his flute. So he was vanquished, and Apollo tied him up to a tree, and delivered him up to a Scythian, who cut him limb from limb.⁴

¹ See the Critical Note on line 685; and as to the coins see above, p. 306.

² Livy, ix. 30. 10.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 809 sq., with the note.

⁴ Hyginus, *Fab.* 165. Compare Apollodorus, i. 4. 2; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 48; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 364 sqq.

Ancient writers often mention or allude to the aversion which Minerva, or rather Athena, contracted to the flute from seeing her swollen cheeks reflected in the water while she blew on the instrument.¹ According to Pindar, Pallas Athena invented the music of the flute to imitate the death-shriek of the Gorgons.² The musical contest between Apollo and the satyr Marsyas is also often referred to by classical writers. Usually the vanquished Marsyas is said to have been hanged on a pine-tree and flayed alive by order of the victor.³ The drops of resin exuding from the bark of the pine were thought to be the tears of the pitiful tree weeping for the sad fate of the woodland divinity.⁴ The skin of the flayed Marsyas was exhibited at Celaenae in Phrygia within historical times.⁵ The tragic story of Marsyas and his flute was a favourite theme of ancient artists in its three main episodes of the discovery of the cast-away flutes by the satyr, his contest with Apollo, and its fatal end. On the Acropolis at Athens there was a group of statuary representing Athena striking Marsyas because he wished to pick up the flutes which she had thrown away.⁶ The group may have been the one by the great sculptor Myron which Pliny describes as "the satyr wondering at the flutes, and Minerva".⁷ A fine marble statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome, represents Marsyas starting back in surprise at sight of the flutes lying on the ground. It may well be a copy of the corresponding figure in the group by Myron;⁸ Ovid may have seen it and had it in his mind when he penned his description of Marsyas discovering the abandoned flutes (line

¹ Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 305 sq.; Propertius, iii. 22 (29). 16-18; Melanippides and Telestes, quoted by Athenaeus, xiv. 7. p. 616 cf; Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 6, p. 456 B C.

² Pindar, *Pyth.* xii. 6 sqq., 18 sqq.

³ Diodorus Siculus, iii. 59; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 383 sqq.; Philostratus Junior, *Imagines*, i. 2 (vol. ii. pp. 394 sq. ed. Kayser); Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 81; *Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 696.

⁴ Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 300-304, with the Scholiast's note on line 301.

⁵ Herodotus, i. 26. Compare Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 21; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 8; Livy, xxxviii. 13. 6; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 106; Quintus Curtius, iii. 1. 1-5.

⁶ Pausanias, i. 24. 1.

⁷ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 57.

⁸ See my note on Pausanias, i. 24. 1 (vol. ii. pp. 289-294); W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³, ii. 18-20, No. 1179.

703). Of the monuments dealing with the contest between Marsyas and Apollo the best known are the lifelike statues which represent Marsyas hanging on the tree, and one at Florence, which represents the Scythian slave crouching and whetting his knife, while he looks up with a grin, as if in anticipation of the bloody job he had in hand.¹ The actual contest between the rival musicians is represented on a very beautiful marble relief discovered at Mantinea in 1887. On one side is seen Marsyas, naked, with straining muscles, blowing his double flute with might and main. Opposite him is seated Apollo, draped in flowing robes, holding his lyre negligently with one hand, his whole attitude one of calm and confident repose. Between the two rivals stands the grim slave with his knife ready, and about them are grouped six of the Muses, the divine umpires in the strife. The remaining three Muses are lost. This fine relief was seen and described by Pausanias, who tells us that the statues on the pedestal which it adorned were by Praxiteles.² The relief may well have been chiselled by the master's own hand; certainly it is not unworthy of a great artist. The three slabs of which it is composed owe their preservation to having been used, face downwards, as the paving-stones of a Byzantine church.³

With regard to the material and mode of construction of the flute mentioned by Ovid in the present passage, Pliny tells us that the flutes used at sacrifices in the Etruscan ritual were of boxwood;⁴ and Horace says that the simple old flute had few holes.⁵

VI. 711. **The third day will come, on which thou, O Thyone of Dodona, wilt stand visible on the brow of Agenor's bull.**—Ovid means that on the third day after the Ides of June, that is, according to Roman reckoning, on June 15, the Hyades will be visible at dawn in the forehead of the constellation of the Bull. Thyone or Thyene, as the name

¹ A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 886 sqq.; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, iii. 420-482.

² Pausanias, viii. 9. 1.

³ See my note on Pausanias, viii. 9. 1 (vol. iv. pp. 206-208); G. Fougères. "Bas-reliefs de Mantinée", *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, xii. (1888) pp. 105-128; J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, Besonderer Theil, iv. 454 sq., 457; *id.*, *Geschichte der griechische Plastik* (Leipzig, 1893-1894), ii. 61 sq. with fig. 160.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 172.

⁵ Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 202-204.

was also spelled, was one of the Hyades, whom the old Athenian mythographer Pherecydes called nymphs of Dodona (*Dodonides*), adding for our information that they were the nurses of Dionysus.¹ The Hyades were said to appear in the forehead of the Bull.² The true morning rising of the Hyades at Rome in Ovid's time was on May 16, and the apparent morning rising was on June 9;³ so that even if the poet in the present passage referred to the apparent rising he was six days out in his reckoning. He speaks of "Agenor's bull", because the constellation of the Bull was supposed to be the same bull which had carried Europa, daughter of Agenor, from Phoenicia across the sea to Crete.⁴

VI. 713. It is the day on which thou, O Tiber, dost send the filth of Vesta's temple down the Etruscan water to the sea.— "The Etruscan water" is the Tiber, which in the lower part of its course formed the boundary between Etruria and Latium. Ovid has already used the same or an equivalent phrase for the river in several passages of his work.⁵ In the Venusian and Maffician calendars June 15 is marked with the letters Q. ST. D. F.,⁶ which Varro interprets to mean "*quando stercum delatum fas*", that is, "When the dung has been carried down (the day is) lawful", and he explains that "on that day the dung (*stercus*) is swept out of the temple of Vesta and carried along the Capitoline Slope to a certain place".⁷ The place to which the sweepings were carried is defined more precisely by Festus, who says: "The dung is carried on June 15 from the temple of Vesta to an alley about midway up the Capitoline Slope, which place is closed

¹ Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 21; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173 (p. 396 ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

² Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 173 sq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 14; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486 (who mentions the name *Dodonides* applied to the Hyades by Pherecydes); Hyginus, *Fab.* 192; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 21.

³ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 154 sq. Compare *Fasti*, vi. 197 sq., with the note.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 604 sqq.; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 173 (pp. 395 sq. ed. Eyssenhardt, appended to his edition of Martianus Capella).

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 233, 500, iv. 48, 294, v. 628.

⁶ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 224. Compare the entry F.Q.ST. in the Tusculan calendar (*ib.* p. 216).

⁷ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 32. Compare Festus, s.v. "*Quandoc stercus delatum fas*", pp. 310, 311 ed. Lindsay.

by the Dung Gate" (*porta stercoria*).¹ These statements appear to be at variance with the account of Ovid, who implies that the filth was thrown into the Tiber. Perhaps we can reconcile the apparent discrepancy by supposing that the filth was allowed to accumulate in the alley till the receptacle was full, when the unsavoury contents were carted down to the river and heaved into the water.²

VI. 715. **spread your canvas to the West Wind, ye mariners.**—Similarly in his almanac of the weather for the year Claudius Tuscus noted under June 16 "West Wind with South".³

VI. 717. **But when the father of the Heliades shall have dipped his rays in the billows.**—The Heliades are the daughters of the Sun (*Helios*), and the sentence is a mythical description of the sun setting in the sea.

VI. 719. **the offspring of Hyrieus shall lift his mighty shoulders above the earth.**—"The offspring of Hyrieus" is Orion, whose miraculous birth Ovid has already related at full length.⁴ The poet speaks of the rising of the constellation of Orion at evening on June 16. In point of fact, the middle star of Orion's Belt rose at Rome in the morning with the sun on June 21, and another star of the constellation rose with the sun a few days earlier. Hence Ovid was approximately right as to the day of the rising, but wrong in placing it at evening instead of at morning.⁵

VI. 720. **On the next night the Dolphin will be visible.**—Ovid has already mentioned the rising of the constellation of the Dolphin at evening on June 10.⁶

VI. 721. **the Volscians and the Aequians put^a to flight upon thy plains, O land of Algidus.**—In 431 B.C. the Romans were threatened by the Aequians and Volscians, who encamped in force on Mount Algidus, a range of hills in Latium extending from Praeneste to the Alban Mount. To meet the danger a dictator, Aulus Postumius Tubertus, was

¹ Festus, s.v. "Stercus", p. 466 ed. Lindsay.

² G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 160.

³ Joannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, p. 368 ed. Bekker.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 493-536.

⁵ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), p. 162.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 471 sq., with the note.

appointed, and he, in conjunction with one of the consuls, inflicted a decisive defeat on the enemy and celebrated a triumph for the victory. It is said that, as a stern martinet, the dictator put his own son to death for attacking the enemy without orders.¹

VI. 724. **didst ride victorious in a car drawn by snow-white horses.**—After the capture of Veii in 396 B.C. Camillus celebrated a magnificent triumph, in which he drove through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses. But such a mode of progression was deemed suitable only for Jupiter and the Sun, and the general incurred great unpopularity for his presumption in thus aping the divinity. In recording the incident Plutarch remarks that such a thing was never done before or since.² However, the example thus set was followed under the Empire. The Senate allowed Julius Caesar to triumph in a car drawn by white horses.³ Tibullus describes Messalla riding in triumph in an ivory car to which white steeds (*nitidi equi*) were yoked,⁴ and Propertius speaks of Romulus driving four white horses, as if such a team were a regular appanage of a Roman general on these occasions.⁵ When Nero returned to Italy from Greece, where the servile Greeks had loaded him with crowns for derisory victories in the games, he entered the cities one after the other in a chariot drawn by white horses through a gap made in the walls to receive him; but in so doing he followed the practice of Olympic victors in the games⁶ rather than that of Roman generals in their triumphs.

VI. 728. **Pallas begins to be worshipped on the Aventine hill.**—Under the date June 19 two ancient calendars, the Esquiline and the Amiternine, have the entry, *Minervae in Aventino*,⁷ "to Minerva on the Aventine", which would

¹ Livy, iv. 26-29; Diodorus Siculus, xii. 64.

² Livy, v. 23. 5 sq.; Plutarch, *Camillus*, 7; Dio Cassius, lii. 13. 3.

³ Dio Cassius, xliii. 14. 3.

⁴ Tibullus, i. 7. 7 sq.

⁵ Propertius, v. (iv.) 1. 32.

⁶ Suetonius, *Nero*, 25, "*Albis equis introiit, disiecta parte muri, ut mos hieroniarum est*". In this statement the expression, "as is the wont of the sacred victors", may perhaps apply only to the gap in the wall, not to the white horses which drew the chariot. In any case there seems to be no earlier evidence that such was the habitual mode of entrance of Olympic victors into their native towns. See G. Caspar, s.v. "Olympia", in Daremberg et Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, iv. 1, pp. 190 sq.

⁷ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 211, 243, 320.

naturally mean that the temple of Minerva (or Pallas, as Ovid here calls her) was dedicated on that day. But this creates a difficulty, because we know from the unexceptionable evidence of the Praenestine calendar that the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was dedicated on March 19.¹ However, we learn from the evidence of Augustus himself that he restored the temple of Minerva on the Aventine;² hence we may suppose, with Wissowa, that June 19 was the day on which, after the imperial restoration, the temple was dedicated afresh.³

VI. 729. **Now, Laomedon, thy son's wife rises.**—Ovid means Aurora, the goddess of dawn, who married Tithonus, son of Laomedon.⁴ The sentence is only a poetical way of saying "next day".

VI. 731. **The temple is said to have been dedicated to Summanus, whoever he may be.**—From three ancient calendars (the Venusian, Esquiline, and Amiternine) we learn that Summanus had a temple near the Circus Maximus, and that, as we gather from the present passage of Ovid, it was dedicated on June 20.⁵ The poet was clearly puzzled as to the nature of this particular deity. Varro reckoned him among the Sabine gods who had been imported into Rome by the Sabine King Titus Tatius.⁶ Some light is thrown on his nature by the statement of Festus, confirmed by Pliny, that lightning by day was thought to come from Jupiter, while lightning by night was believed to emanate from Summanus.⁷ The same distinction is made by Augustine, who tells us that, after the great temple of Jupiter was built, the people flocked to it in such crowds that hardly anybody could be found who remembered even the name of Summanus.⁸ In the gable or on the roof of the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol there was an earthenware image of

¹ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 234, 312. Compare Festus, *s.v.* "Quinquatrus", p. 306 ed. Lindsay. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 809 *sqq.*, with the note.

² *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 6, p. 91 ed. Hardy, pp. 24, 26 ed. Diehl⁴.

³ G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 253. Compare *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 271 *sq.*

⁴ Apollodorus, iii. 12. 3 *sq.*; *Homeric Hymns*, V. *To Aphrodite*, 217 *sqq.*

⁵ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 211, 221, 243, 320. ⁶ Varro, *De lingua Latina*, v. 74.

⁷ Festus, *s.v.* "Dium" and "Provorsum fulgur", pp. 66, 254 ed. Lindsay; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 138.

⁸ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, iv. 23.

Summanus, which was struck by lightning ; after the flash the head of the image disappeared, but was ultimately found in the Tiber at a place indicated by the soothsayers.¹ This event appears to have happened in 278 B.C., the year in which Pyrrhus crossed over to Sicily.² Accordingly we may infer that this incident was the occasion of founding the temple of Summanus which is here mentioned by Ovid ; for the poet expressly tells us that the temple was dedicated during the war with Pyrrhus. Further, it is probable, or rather certain, that the temple then founded was the one which is known from the calendars to have been situated near the Circus Maximus, since the day of dedication (June 20) is the same, and no other temple of Summanus is on record.

Putting these various indications together we may conclude that Summanus was a sort of nocturnal Jupiter, a god of the nightly sky, especially in his capacity of a hurler of lightning. This conclusion is confirmed by inscriptions which record dedications to Jupiter Summanus, thus identifying the two deities.³ Another inscription, found on the Esquiline, records " the burying of a Summanian lightning ",⁴ which we may take to be a thunderbolt that fell by night. For wherever lightning or a thunderbolt struck the ground, it was solemnly interred in a sort of grave or shaft, no doubt to prevent it from bursting out again and dashing about, to the imminent danger of all peaceable people. The spot was enclosed with masonry which resembled a well-head (*puteal*), and was provided with an appropriate inscription to warn all and sundry that lightning was buried there (*fulgur conditum*).⁵ In the Acts of the Arval Brethren we read of a sacrifice of two black wethers offered to Father Summanus because trees had been struck by lightning in the sacred grove, probably

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 10. 16.

² Livy, *Per.* xiv. According to Livy, the image decapitated by the lightning was an image of Jupiter on the Capitol. This statement is not necessarily inconsistent with the statement of Cicero (*l.c.*) that the image was that of Summanus, for, as we shall see immediately, there is reason to regard Summanus as merely a particular aspect of Jupiter.

³ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3057, 3058.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 3059, "*Summanium fulgur conditum*".

⁵ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.³ 262-264 ; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*³, p. 122. For examples of these inscriptions see H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3055, 3056.

by night.¹ Between the temple of Summanus and the temple of Youth (*Iuventas*) dogs were annually crucified alive on a cross of elderwood, because the watch-dogs had not kept watch when the Gauls were climbing up the Capitol.² The temple of Youth was in the Circus Maximus,³ so that the temple of Summanus must have been near that great race-course, as indeed we learn independently from the mention of it in the ancient calendars.⁴ But why this particular spot should have been selected for the execution or sacrifice of the dogs, and why the cross on which they suffered should have been made of elder wood, we do not know. If the temple of Summanus, like that of Youth, was actually within the spacious precincts of the Circus Maximus, it would seem to follow that the sight of the sufferings of the animals was part of the spectacles exhibited for the amusement of the brutal Roman populace on their holidays. A people who found amusement in the slaughter of human beings were not likely to be touched by the crucifixion of dogs. Cakes of spelt baked in the shape of wheels seem to have been offered to Summanus,⁵ but we do not know why. The deity must have been well known in the time of Plautus, for the dramatist puts a round oath by Summanus and many other good old Roman gods in the mouth of a slave.⁶

VI. 735. there rises above the horizon the young man blasted by the bolts of his grandsire and stretches out his hands, entwined with twin snakes.—Ovid is here describing the rising at evening of the constellation which the Greeks called *Ophiuchus* and the Romans *Anguitenens*, both words meaning Serpent-holder. The constellation was thought to resemble a man grasping with both hands a snake coiled round his waist. Usually the man was supposed to be the physician Aesculapius, a son of Apollo and Coronis, who had been

¹ G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. ccxiii sq., 146; H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 5048.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 57. See also above, p. 141.

³ Livy, xxxvi. 36. 5.

⁴ Compare H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 119.

⁵ Festus, s.v. "Summanalia liba", p. 474 ed. Lindsay.

⁶ Plautus, *Bacchides*, 892-895. As to Summanus see L. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*³, i. 243-245; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 134 sq.; R. Peter, s.v. "Summanus", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, vi. 1600 sq.

killed by his grandfather Jupiter (Zeus) with a thunderbolt for raising Hippolytus from the dead, but was afterwards promoted to the sky and allowed to shine there as the constellation of Ophiuchus; this honour the dead Aesculapius was granted for the sake of his father Apollo.¹ This myth of the origin of the constellation is told by Ovid in the following lines. He speaks of Aesculapius as "blasted by the bolts of his grandsire" because Aesculapius was killed by a thunderbolt of Jupiter (Zeus), who was his grandfather, being the father of Apollo, who was the father of Aesculapius.

But various other stories were current to explain the constellation Ophiuchus. Thus, according to some people, the man holding the snake was a certain Carnabons, king of the Thracian Getae, who was thus punished by Ceres (Demeter) for having killed one of the dragons which drew the car of Triptolemus. Others thought that the man was Hercules, who was placed by Jupiter (Zeus) among the stars as a reward for his prowess in slaying a serpent which had infested the river Sagaris in Lydia, ravaging the crops on the bank and killing many people. Others were of opinion that the man in question was Triopas, king of the Thessalians, who had offended Ceres (Demeter) by pulling down her temple and had suffered many things at her hands through the agency of a dragon or serpent, until at last he died and was transported by the will of the goddess to the stars, where he continues to be tormented eternally by the snake coiled about his body.²

But a patriotic Rhodian writer, who bore the appropriate name of Polyzelus, maintained that the man whom we see in the sky grasping the snake was in reality Phorbas, son of Triopas, who in his lifetime proved a great benefactor to the Rhodians. For in those days their island was so infested by snakes that it went by the name of Ophiussa or Snake Island, and among the snakes there was an enormous

¹ Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 74-87 (who describes the constellation but does not tell the myth); Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 42. 108 sq. (paraphrasing Aratus); Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 5; Manilius, i. 331 sqq. (who uses the Greek name Ophiuchus); Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 14; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, 71 (pp. 384 sq. ed. Eyssenhardt, in his edition of Martianus Capella). Columella (*De re rustica*, xi. 2. 49) gives *Anguifer* as the Latin equivalent of *Ophiuchus*. The meaning is the same.

² Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 14.

dragon which killed such multitudes of people that the island was almost reduced to a desert. At that time Phorbas, son of Triopas, landed in Rhodes, and slew the dragon and all the rest of the snakes; and as he was very dear to Apollo, that god placed him among the stars, where for his honour and glory he may be seen to this day in the very act of throttling the great dragon. That is why when a Rhodian fleet is about to put to sea on a long voyage, a sacrifice is always offered to Phorbas before the oars are dipped in the water and the sails unfurled to the wind, in order that all on board the fleet may cover themselves with glory like the glory that raised Phorbas to the stars.¹

The common feature of all these myths is the attempt to explain the serpent or dragon which fancy detected coiling about a man in the constellation. In some of them the man is a hero who is thus rewarded for having destroyed a noxious dragon or a whole brood of serpents, and the snake is the symbol of his beneficent victory; in others the man is a malefactor who has offended the gods and is punished by the serpent for his sin. The association of Aesculapius with the serpent was based on a different principle. In his capacity of a physician he had the serpent for his symbol and attendant; for in popular superstition the serpent is commonly supposed to possess either a direct power of healing or at all events a knowledge of the medicinal properties of plants. In Greek art the constant emblem of Aesculapius is a serpent coiled round a staff.² Sacred serpents were kept in his temples, and visitors fed them with cakes;³ and in Epidaurus, where the god had one of his greatest sanctuaries, tame serpents of a certain sort were sacred to him.⁴ Indeed, the god himself was apparently supposed sometimes to take upon him the form of a serpent.⁵

The reason for thus associating or even identifying Aesculapius with the serpent was explained by the ancients to be that the serpent is a symbol of life or perpetual youth,

¹ Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 14; compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 58. 4 sq.

² A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 137, 139; E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* (Giessen, 1913), p. 136.

³ Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 733 sqq.; Pausanias, ii. 11. 8; Herodas, iv. 90 sq.

⁴ Pausanias, ii. 28. 1.

⁵ Pausanias, iii. 23. 7.

because by casting its skin every year it renews its youth and never grows old. The creature was therefore a fitting symbol of the physician's art, which aims at renewing the energies and prolonging the life of man.¹ The reason thus assigned for associating serpents with the healing art may very well be the true one; for the power which the serpent possesses of sloughing its old skin has deeply impressed many primitive peoples, who believe that in consequence the serpent is immortal, and they tell many stories to contrast human mortality with the imaginary immortality of serpents, and to explain how man missed and the serpent gained the boon of eternal life. It is probable that the myth of the Fall of Man in Genesis² was originally a story of this type, though in its existing form the part which referred to the immortality of serpents has been omitted.³

In dating the evening rising of Ophiuchus on June 20 the poet is guilty of a serious astronomical blunder, for the bright star in the head of that constellation rose at evening about two months earlier, on April 19. Columella places the morning setting of the constellation on June 21,⁴ which is nearly a month too soon; but if he referred to the true morning setting of the constellation, as observed at Alexandria, the date is only a few days too soon. It is possible that it was this date which Ovid found in his calendar, and that by mistake he converted the morning setting of the constellation into its evening rising.⁵

VI. 737. **Familiar is the tale of Phaedra's love, familiar, too, the wrong that Theseus did.**—According to the usual story, Phaedra, the wife of Theseus, fell in love with her stepson Hippolytus and made criminal advances to him, which the virtuous young man rejected. Stung by the repulse, the bad woman accused him to her husband of having attempted

¹ See note on *Fasti*, i. 290 (Vol. II. pp. 130 sqq.).

² Genesis iii.

³ See *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, i. 69 sqq.; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 66 sqq.; *The Worship of Nature*, i. 213-224, 669-672. On the serpent in its relation to the healing art see further my note on Pausanias, ii. 10. 3 (vol. iii. pp. 65-67); E. Küster, *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion*, pp. 133 sqq.

⁴ Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 49.

⁵ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der *Fasti* des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 146-147.

her chastity. Theseus believed her and prayed to his father, the sea-god Poseidon, to avenge the imaginary wrong on his innocent son. The god complied with the prayer, and when Hippolytus was driving in a chariot beside the sea to Troezen, a bull emerged from the water and frightened the horses, which dashed the chariot to pieces, and Hippolytus, entangled in the reins, was dragged to death. The tragic story is told more fully by Ovid elsewhere, and it was made the theme of tragedies by Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca in antiquity, and by Racine in modern times.¹ Of Sophocles' play on the subject, called *Phaedra*, only some fragments have survived.² Euripides composed two plays on the subject, both of them called *Hippolytus*, of which the second only has come down to us entire. In it he paints the character of Phaedra in less dark colours than in the earlier play, suppressing the guilty overtures of the unhappy woman.³ If Ovid, as seems probable, followed Euripides in his version of the story, he apparently had the dramatist's earlier play in mind, for he represents Phaedra as deliberately tempting her virtuous stepson to sin.⁴

VI. 739. The youth was journeying to Troezen, when a bull cleft with his breast the waters in his path.—The death of Hippolytus, briefly narrated in the following line, is told by Ovid more fully elsewhere,⁵ and still more fully and eloquently by Euripides in his great tragedy on the subject.⁶

VI. 746. "There is no need of grief," said the son of Coronis, "for I will restore the pious youth to life."—"The son of Coronis" is Aesculapius, who was commonly reputed to be a son of Apollo by Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas, though others held that his mother was a Messenian woman named Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus. But the claim of Coronis to be

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 497-529; Hyginus, *Fab.* 47; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 18-19 (with my note); Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62 (who omits the miraculous elements of the story); Pausanias, i. 22. 1-2, ii. 32. 1-4; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 321; Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931 B.

² *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 295-305; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck³, pp. 279-282.

³ For fragments of the earlier play see *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck³, pp. 491-496.

⁴ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 497-504, *Heroides*, iv.

⁵ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 506 sqq.

⁶ Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1173-1248.

the mother of Aesculapius had the powerful support of the priesthood of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, one of the principal seats of the worship of the healing god.¹ In modern times there was discovered at the sanctuary a limestone tablet inscribed with a hymn by a certain Isyllus, in which the pedigree of Aesculapius is traced from Zeus downward; according to the bard, the father of Aesculapius was Phoebus (Apollo) and his mother was Aegla, otherwise known as Coronis, a daughter of Phlegyas. From this composition we learn that the author, before publishing it, took the precaution of submitting it for approval to Apollo himself at Delphi, and the deity expressed his approval in very gracious terms; hence the true parentage of Aesculapius may be regarded as well authenticated, for who could vouch for it better than the god's own father?²

Elsewhere Ovid has briefly mentioned that Aesculapius recalled Hippolytus to life by means of potent herbs.³ Other ancient writers mention the resurrection and the agent without recording the means by which the miracle was wrought.⁴ Pindar asserts that the good physician raised the dead man to life for the sake of the golden fee which was slipped into the palm of his hand.⁵

VI. 750. **simples that before had stood Glaucus' ghost in good stead.**—Ovid means to say that Aesculapius brought Hippolytus to life by applying to his body the same herbs by which a seer had formerly raised Glaucus from the dead. The story of the resurrection of Glaucus, to which Ovid here alludes, is told as follows by Apollodorus. While Glaucus, son of Minos, was yet a child, he chased a mouse, and falling into a jar of honey was drowned. His disconsolate father made a great search for the lost child and consulted sooth-

¹ *Homeric Hymns*, XVI. *To Aesculapius*, 1 sqq.; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14); Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3, with my note; Pausanias, ii. 26. 3-7, iv. 3. 2, iv. 31. 12; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1, v. 74. 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id.*, *Astronom.* ii. 40; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 618; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506.

² Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική, iii. (1885) coll. 65 sqq.; H. Collitz und F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 1, pp. 162 sqq., No. 3342.

³ Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 535 sq.

⁴ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Sextus Empiricus, p. 658 ed. Bekker; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id.*, *Astronom.* ii. 14; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 434, vi. 353 (375).

⁵ Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96) sqq., with the Scholiast.

sayers as to how he should find him. The Curetes told him that in his herds he had a cow of three different colours, and that the man who could best describe that cow's colour would also restore to him his son alive. So when the soothsayers were come together, Polyidus, son of Coeranus, compared the colour of the cow to the fruit of the bramble, and being compelled to seek for the child he found him, by means of a sort of divination, drowned in the jar of honey. But Minos was not satisfied, and declared that the soothsayer must restore his son to him alive. So Polyidus was shut up with the dead body. While he was in great perplexity, he saw a serpent gliding towards the corpse. Fearing to be killed himself if the child's body should suffer harm, he threw a stone at the serpent and killed it. But another serpent came, and, seeing the former one dead, departed and then returned, bringing a herb, and placed it on the body of the other; and no sooner was the herb so placed upon it than the dead serpent came to life. Surprised at this sight, Polyidus applied the same herb to the body of Glaucus and thus raised him from the dead.¹ On the subject of this story Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies, and there are some grounds for thinking that Aeschylus did so also.² According to some accounts, it was Aesculapius himself who thus raised Glaucus from the dead.³ But the orthodox tradition, supported by Sophocles and Euripides, assigned the glory of the resurrection to the soothsayer Polyidus.

A similar story was told of the resurrection of a Lydian legendary hero named Tylon or Tylus. It is said that one day, as he was walking on the banks of the Hermus, a serpent stung and killed him. His distressed sister, Moire, had recourse to a giant called Damasene, who attacked and slew the serpent. But the serpent's mate culled a herb, "the flower of Zeus", in the woods, and bringing it in her mouth

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 3. 1. The story is told in the same way by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 811), who may have copied from Apollodorus, and it is told in substantially the same way, though with fuller details on minor points, by Hyginus, *Fab.* 136. The tale is reported more briefly by Palaephatus (*De incredib.* 27) and Apostolius (*Cent.* v. 48).

² *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 38 sq., 216-219, 558-563; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 56-64.

³ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 14.

put it to the lips of the dead serpent, which immediately revived. In her turn Moire took the hint and restored her brother, Tylon or Tylus, to life by touching him with the same plant. This story was told by Xanthus, an early historian of Lydia.¹ It seems to have been associated with Sardes, since it is clearly alluded to on the coins of that city.²

The central incident of these stories is the restoration to life of a dead person by means of a magical herb, the restorative effect of which is learned from observing its use by a serpent to resuscitate its dead mate. The same incident occurs in substantially the same form in a number of modern folk-tales, Greek, German, Lithuanian, Wallachian, and Russian.³ The Kpelle, a negro tribe of Liberia, explain the origin of their Snake Society by a similar tale. They say that once on a time a hunter, perched among the boughs of a tree on the look out for game, saw two great snakes fighting, and he noticed that, as fast as one of them bit the other, the wounded snake swallowed a leaf of the tree and was straightway made whole again. He took the hint, gathered the leaves of the tree, and out of them made a medicine for snake-bites. The medicine proved successful, the fame of the medicine-man spread abroad, and people flocked from every quarter to learn his secret. Thus he became the founder of the Snake Society.⁴ We need not necessarily suppose that these modern tales are direct echoes of the old story of Polyidus and Glaucus; they may be so, but it is also possible that they are all drawn independently

¹ Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxv. 451-551; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 14.

² B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia*, pp. cxi-cxiii, with pl. xxvii. 12. Compare *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 186 sq.

³ J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), ii. 204, 260, 274; Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 16, "Die drei Schlangenblätter"; A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder* (Weimar, 1857), pp. 57-59; A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Maerchen* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845), p. 142; G. Polivka, "Zu der Erzählung von der undankbaren Gattin", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xiii. (1903) p. 408. See further my edition of Apollodorus, vol. ii. appendix vii., "The Resurrection of Glaucus", pp. 363-370; J. Bolte und G. Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, i. (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 128 sq.

⁴ D. Westermann, *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1921), p. 283.

from a still older source, the perennial well-spring of popular fancy.

VI. 755. **in the depths of Dictynna's own woodland.**—Dictynna was a name applied to the Cretan goddess Britomartis; it is derived from *diktyon*, "a net", and to justify the derivation a myth was told how she had taken refuge in fishing-nets to escape the pursuit of her lover King Minos. Some people said that she was a favourite of Artemis; others identified her with that goddess.¹ Here and elsewhere Ovid identifies Dictynna with Artemis and hence with her Roman equivalent Diana.² By "Dictynna's own woodland" in the present passage the poet means the famous sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis in the grove (*nemus*) which has bequeathed its name to the Lake of Nemi.

VI. 756. **he became Virbius of the Arician Lake.**—This transformation of Hippolytus into Virbius in the sacred grove beside the Lake of Nemi (the Arician Lake) has already been alluded to by the poet³ and narrated more fully by Virgil.⁴

VII. 757. **But Clymenus and Clotho grieved.**—Clymenus was a name of Pluto, the god of the infernal regions. Under this title he had a temple at Hermion in Argolis; near it yawned a chasm in the earth through which Hercules was said to have dragged up Cerberus, the hound of hell, from the nether world.⁵ A poet of Hermion, by name Lasus, in a hymn addressed to Demeter, called Proserpine the wife of Clymenus.⁶ Clotho was one of the three Fates, daughters of Zeus and Themis. The other two were Lachesis and Atropus.⁷ The name Clotho means "the Spinner", being derived from the verb *klotho*, "I spin"; hence Ovid's allusion to the re-spinning of the broken thread.

VI. 759. **Jupiter aimed a thunderbolt at him who had employed the resources of a too potent art.**—We read that Aesculapius had set up in practice as a surgeon, and that like many members of his profession he cured some of his patients and killed others. In these operations he made

¹ Diodorus Siculus, v. 76. 3-4; Strabo, x. 4. 12-13, p. 479; Pausanias, ii. 30. 3.

² Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 441. Compare Tibullus, i. 4. 25.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 263 sqq.

⁴ Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761-780.

⁵ Pausanias, ii. 35. 9-10.

⁶ Athenaeus, xiv. 19, p. 625 c.

⁷ Hesiod, *Theog.* 901-906; Apollodorus, i. 3. 1.

use of the blood of the Gorgon, with which he had been supplied by Athena; with the blood that flowed from the veins on the right side of the monster he cured his patients, and with the blood which flowed from the left side he killed them. But not content with healing the sick, he even raised up the dead, not Hippolytus only, but at least four or five more, whose names are on record. This alarmed Zeus, who feared that men might learn the art of healing the sick and raising the dead from the too successful surgeon; so he smote and killed him with a thunderbolt at Pytho (Delphi).¹ It is said that in his medical practice Aesculapius was so successful in bringing back people from the gates of death that Hades accused the doctor to Zeus of poaching on his preserves, alleging that the rate of mortality was thereby sensibly lowered day by day. The news of the loss thus inflicted on his brother, the lord of the infernal regions, roused Zeus to fury, and he made an end of the too skilful physician.²

VI. 761. **Phoebus, thou didst complain.**—Apollo (Phoebus) was not content with complaining that Jupiter (Zeus) had killed his son Aesculapius with a thunderbolt. He took his revenge by killing the Cyclopes who had forged the thunderbolt. For this murder Jupiter would have hurled Apollo down to Tartarus, but at the intercession of Apollo's mother Latona he so far mitigated the sentence as to condemn the god to serve as a thrall to a mortal man for a year. So Apollo repaired to Admetus, at Pherae in Thessaly, and served him as a herdsman, and caused all the cows to drop twin calves.³ Similarly Callimachus says that when Apollo tended the flocks of Admetus, the ewes, which before had borne single lambs, now bore twins.⁴ As himself a twin, Apollo would, on the principle of sympathetic magic, be naturally supposed to possess the power of causing the cows and sheep in his charge to bring forth twins. A like power is attributed

¹ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 3; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18. That Aesculapius was killed by a thunderbolt at Pytho (Delphi) is mentioned by a Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, i.

² Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1-3.

³ Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4; Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 *sqq.*, with the note of the Scholiast on line 1; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49.

⁴ Callimachus, *Hymns*, IV. *To Apollo*, 47-54.

by some Bantu tribes to the fathers and mothers of twins. Hence such persons are welcomed at laying the foundations of pigeon houses, chicken houses, or goat pens. Their presence "is supposed to have a beneficial or prolific effect. There is a native woman I know who has had twins three times, and she is in great demand for laying the foundations of pigeon and chicken houses, goat and sheep pens, and even a cattle kraal."¹ Among the Bantu tribes of Northern Rhodesia "pigeon cotes are erected in the majority of villages. The first stakes of such cotes are driven in by a woman who has borne twins, in order, they say, that the pigeons may multiply".² "My Zulu informant", says Mr. Dudley Kidd, "who was himself a twin, told me that it was thought that all the goats belonging to a twin had young in couples."³ Apparently the ancient Greeks agreed with the Zulus in this belief.

VI. 761. **Be reconciled to thy parent. He did himself for thy sake what he forbade others to do.**—Ovid begs Apollo to be reconciled to his father Jupiter and not to bear him a grudge for killing his (Apollo's) son Aesculapius. With great force of reason the poet reminds the aggrieved god that, if Jupiter had slain his own grandson Aesculapius for bringing the dead to life, he, Jupiter, had also violated his own principle by himself bringing Aesculapius to life and raising him from the rank of a simple surgeon to that of a deity, all to please the surgeon's father Apollo. Was not that a very handsome atonement to make? Why then should Apollo sulk?

VI. 765. **Be Flaminius and the Trasimenian Lake thy witnesses that the kind gods give many warnings by means of birds.**—In 217 B.C. the Roman army, commanded by the consul C. Flaminius, was defeated by Hannibal with great slaughter at the Trasimenian Lake. We are told that Flaminius was not a god-fearing man,⁴ and immediately before engaging the enemy he openly displayed his contempt for religion by setting the omens at defiance. The signal for

¹ Dugald Campbell, *In the Heart of Bantuland* (London, 1922), p. 155.

² C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Nigeria* (London, 1911), pp. 307 sq.

³ Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906), p. 49. On this subject see further my edition of Apollodorus, vol. ii. Appendix ix., "Apollo and the kine of Admetus", pp. 376-383.

⁴ Livy, xxii. 3. 4.

a Roman army to march was given by plucking up the standards (" *signa movere* ", as Ovid has it in the present passage), which in camp were set up like flag-poles with the butt-ends of their staves thrust into the ground. Well, on the morning of the great battle the consul gave the order to lift the standards and himself mounted his horse. But in doing so his horse stumbled and fell, throwing the rider over its head. The evil omen struck a damp into the officers and soldiers who witnessed the fall of their commander. But worse was to follow, for word came that the standard-bearer, tugging with all his strength, could not wrench the standard from the ground. Plainly the gods were warning the Roman army not to march that morning. But the warning was lost on the consul. "Go back", he said, "and order them to dig up the standard, if their hands are too numb with fear to pull it up." But even that was not all, for now the keeper of the sacred chickens came up with a grave face and informed the general that the birds would not eat. "And if they continue to refuse their food, what would you advise?" asked Flaminius. "To stay where we are," replied the keeper. "Pretty omens," retorted the general contemptuously, "if we may fight when the chickens are hungry but not when they are full." And with that he gave the order to march. Three hours later the Roman army was cut to pieces and the general lay dead on the field.¹

Another signal example of the fatal effect of neglecting the auspices, especially the warnings of the sacred chickens, was given at a great sea-fight with the Carthaginians off Drepana in Sicily. When the Roman fleet put to sea and was cleared for action, the keeper of the sacred chickens came up to the admiral, Publius Claudius Pulcher, on the quarter-deck and reported that the sacred chickens would not eat. "Then", replied the admiral, "let them drink," and with that he ordered the chickens to be thrown into the sea. The natural, the inevitable consequence followed in the total overthrow of the Roman fleet.² What else could you expect when people fly in the face of sacred chickens?

¹ Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 35. 77; Livy, xxii. 3. 11-13.

² Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 3. 7; compare Livy, *Per.* xix.; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 16. 29.

VI. 769. On it Massinissa defeated Syphax, and Hasdrubal fell by his own sword.—In the second Punic war Masinissa, king of Numidia, the ally of the Romans, defeated and captured Syphax, king of the Massaesylian Numidians. This happened in 203 B.C. The captured king was sent a prisoner to Italy, where he died two years afterwards.¹ At an earlier period in the same war Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, led an army from Spain into Italy to support the falling fortunes of Carthage in that country; but he was decisively defeated by the Romans at the Metaurus in 207 B.C. When he saw that the battle was lost, he refused to survive defeat, and charging on horseback into the thick of the enemy fell fighting; thus he died, says the Roman historian, worthily of his father Hamilcar and of his brother Hannibal.² This account is hardly consistent with the statement of Ovid that Hasdrubal fell by his own hand. Hence some have thought that Ovid here referred, not to Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, but to Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, who took an active part against the Romans in the last years of the second Punic war in Africa, and, surviving the defeat and capture of his ally Syphax, ended his life by poison.³ But he was perhaps too insignificant a foe for his death to be remembered as a triumph for the Romans; certainly it did not happen on the day when Syphax was defeated by Masinissa. Hence it seems safer to suppose that Ovid was here thinking of the glorious death of Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal, at the Metaurus. It may be that, surrounded by the enemy and about to fall into their hands, the gallant Carthaginian general stabbed himself to death.

VI. 773. How quickly has come round the festival of Fors Fortuna.—Under the date June 24 a festival of Fors Fortuna (Fortune) is marked in the Venusian calendar and in the calendar of Philocalus;⁴ in the Rustic calendars the festival is noted under June, but, as usual, without the day of the month.⁵ In the Amiternine calendar, under the same date, there is a fuller note to the following effect: “(A festival)

¹ Livy, xxx. 11-12, 17, 45; Appian, *Pun.* v. 26-28.

² Livy, xxvii. 49.

³ Livy, xxx. 3 sqq.; Appian, *Pun.* iii. 18 sqq., vii. 38.

⁴ *C.I.L.* i. 3 pp. 221, 266, 320.

⁵ *C.I.L.* i. 2 p. 280.

for Fors Fortuna across the Tiber at the first and the sixth milestones."¹ From this note it follows that there were two temples of Fors Fortuna on the right bank of the Tiber, situated respectively at distances of one and six miles from the city. Ovid appears to have known both temples, for a few lines lower down (line 784) he speaks of "the neighbouring temples of the fickle goddess". Both of them, according to the poet, were founded by King Servius Tullius and dedicated on the same day, June 24. That, no doubt, was the day of Fors Fortuna mentioned by Varro, who says that "the day of Fors Fortuna was so named by King Servius Tullius, because he dedicated a shrine (*fanum*) of Fors Fortuna beside the Tiber, outside the city of Rome, in the month of June".² Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions two temples of Fortune founded by Servius Tullius, one of them in the Forum Boarium, of which we have already heard,³ the other on the banks of the Tiber; the latter temple the Greek historian wrongly calls a temple of Virile Fortune.⁴ In 293 B.C. the consul Sp. Carvilius used part of the spoils which he brought back from Samnium and Etruria to build a temple of Fors Fortuna near the temple of the goddess which had been dedicated by Servius Tullius;⁵ but whether the latter temple was the one at the first or at the sixth milestone, we do not know. Again, in 17 A.D. yet another temple of Fors Fortuna was dedicated beside the Tiber in the gardens which Julius Caesar bequeathed by his will to the Roman people.⁶ It may possibly have been, as Huelsen thinks, merely a restoration of the old temple at the first milestone which was traditionally said to have been founded by Servius Tullius.⁷ Several inscriptions containing dedications to Fors Fortuna have been found on the right bank of

¹ C.I.L. i.³ pp. 243, 320, "*Forti Fortunae trans Tiber(im) ad milliar(ium) prim(um) et sext(um)*".

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 17, "*Dies Fortis Fortunae appellatus ab Servio Tullio rege, quod is fanum Fortis Fortunae secundum Tiberim extra urbem Romam dedicavit Iunio mense*".

³ See above, note on *Fasti*, vi. 569, pp. 293 sqq.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* iv. 27. 7, Τύχης . . . ἣν ἀνδρῶν προσηγόρευσεν.

⁵ Livy, x. 46. 14.

⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 41; Plutarch, *Brutus*, 20.

⁷ H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 645.

the Tiber, about five miles from the site of the ancient Harbour Gate (*Porta Portuensis*), through which the Harbour road (*Via Portuensis*) led to the mouth of the river.¹ No doubt these inscriptions come from the old temple of Fors Fortuna at the sixth milestone.

From Ovid's description the festival of Fors Fortuna appears to have been chiefly a merrymaking on the water, bands of revellers rowing up and down the river and drinking themselves drunk in their boats. The description is confirmed by an allusion of Cicero, who speaks of the joy that some people felt at going down the Tiber on that holiday.² It is perhaps worth noting that the day (June 24) was the summer solstice according to the usual Roman reckoning,³ and that the same day (Midsummer Day or Midsummer Eve) appears to have been a very ancient festival of water in Europe, especially in southern Europe, which may have suggested to the Church the propriety of placing Midsummer Day under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, thereby throwing a Christian cloak over an old heathen celebration. The European Midsummer festival, like the Roman festival described by Ovid, has been essentially a popular holiday. Water is then supposed to acquire certain marvellous medicinal properties, and people seek to take advantage of them by bathing in the sea, rivers, or springs, or rolling in the dew. To roll in the Midsummer dew is esteemed especially a cure for diseases of the skin. "Hence in many parts of Europe, from Sweden in the north to Sicily in the south, and from Ireland and Spain in the west to Esthonia in the east it used to be customary for men, women, and children to bathe in crowds in rivers, the sea, or springs on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day, hoping thus to fortify themselves for the next twelve months. The usual time for taking the bath was the night which intervenes between Midsummer Eve and Midsummer Day; but in

¹ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 3682, 3682a, 9253.

² Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 24. 70.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 256, "*viii kal. vero Iul. longissimus dies totius anni et nox brevissima solstitium conficiunt*"; Columella, *De re rustica*, xi. 2. 49; *C.I.L.* i.² p. 266 (calendar of Philocalus). However, it is remarkable that Ovid places the solstice two days later, on June 26 (*Fasti*, vi. 785-790), and in the Venusian calendar June 26 is marked as the solstice ("*solstitium confec.*") See *C.I.L.* i.² p. 221.

Belgium the hour was noon on Midsummer Day. It was a curious sight, we are told, to see the banks of a river lined with naked children waiting for the first stroke of noon to plunge into the healing water. The dip was supposed to have a remarkable effect in strengthening the legs. People who were ashamed to bathe in public used to have cans of water brought to their houses from the river at midday, and then performed their ablutions in the privacy of their chambers."¹

It might perhaps be thought that this widespread custom of bathing in water or dew on Midsummer Eve or Midsummer Day is of purely Christian origin and has been adopted as an appropriate way of celebrating the day dedicated to St. John the Baptist, who had enjoined such dips on all his disciples. But two considerations seem fatal to this view. In the first place, the custom was denounced and forbidden as a heathen practice by St. Augustine.² In the second place the custom is observed to this day by Mohammedan peoples of North Africa, particularly of Morocco, who have no respect for St. John the Baptist and no desire to follow his precepts. These Moslems of Africa, like the Christians of Europe, believe all water to be endowed with such marvellous virtue on Midsummer Day that it not only heals sickness but prevents it for the rest of the year; hence men, women, and children bathe in the sea, in rivers, or in their houses at that time for the sake of their health. Thus we seem justified in concluding that the custom of bathing in water at this season of the year as a remedy for or preventative of disease is part of an old heathen celebration of Midsummer, which was once, and to some extent still is, common to the Christian and Mohammedan peoples on both sides of the Mediterranean.³ It is possible that the aquatic festival at Rome on Midsummer Day is to be classed

¹ *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 29 sq., with the references. For more evidence see *The Golden Bough*, Part IV. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 246-249.

² Augustine, *Opera*, v. (Paris, 1683) col. 903; *id.*, Pars Secunda, coll. 461 sq. The second of these passages occurs in a sermon of doubtful authenticity. Both have been quoted by J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁶, i. 490.

³ *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 216-219, vol. ii. pp. 30 sq.; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London, 1926), ii. 71 sq., 187-189, 197-199, 203 sq.

among these Midsummer rites of water, and that the revellers on that day bathed or washed in the Tiber as well as floated on its surface. If that was so, we might understand why so many temples of Fors Fortuna were built beside the river.¹ But why the goddess of Fortune should be especially associated with water is by no means clear. The idea that she was, like Reuben,² unstable as water, is not likely to have occurred to the primitive mind, or at all events to have been made the ground for an aquatic festival. Another aspect of the goddess, and one that is more in harmony with the probable derivation of her name from *ferre*, "to bring", "to bear offspring", is indicated in a passage of Columella, in which he exhorts market-gardeners, after they have disposed of their wares, to sing the praises of Fors Fortuna.³

We should not forget that in the popular celebration of Midsummer both in Europe and in Africa fire, especially in the shape of bonfires, has played an even more prominent part than water; ⁴ but there is no evidence that fire figured in the Midsummer rites at Rome, though it may not be without significance that the goddess Fors Fortuna had for her lover a king, Servius Tullius, who is said to have been begotten by the fire.⁵

VI. 783. Tullius, who instituted the neighbouring temples of the fickle goddess, was born of a slave woman.—We have seen how King Servius Tullius was said to have been born of a slave woman, captured at Corniculum, who was supposed to have been impregnated by the fire.⁶ Livy puts into the mouth of a popular tribune a speech in which the speaker points out how many of the Roman kings were of foreign and even humble birth. Among the rest he cites the case of Servius Tullius, "born of a captive woman of Corniculum, with no father and a slave mother, who nevertheless by his talents and virtue had raised himself to the throne".⁷ In point of fact, the Roman kings in general seem to have been

¹ As to the festival of Fors Fortuna on June 24 see J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.² 577 sq.; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, pp. 161-172; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*³, pp. 256 sq.

² Genesis xlix. 4.

³ Columella, *De re rustica*, x. 314-317.

⁴ *The Golden Bough*, Part VII. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 160-219.

⁵ See above, pp. 300 sqq.

⁶ Above, pp. 300 sq.

⁷ Livy, iv. 3. 12.

men of plebeian, not patrician, families, and there are some grounds for thinking that at Rome the kingship was transmitted in the female line to the foreign husbands of princesses. This would explain the curious fact, which apparently struck the Romans themselves, that so many of their kings were foreigners; and the legends of the miraculous births of some of them, without the agency of human fathers, might be accounted for by supposing that the names and lineage of their foreign and obscure begetters had been forgotten.¹

VI. 785. *Lo, returning from the suburban shrine.*—The shrine is that of Fors Fortuna, either the one situated at the first milestone on the Harbour Road (*Via Portuensis*) or the one situated at the sixth milestone on the same road.²

VI. 787. *Orion, thy belt . . . will be within my ken.*—Ovid makes the tipsy reveller say that Orion's belt will rise on June 26. The reveller was not very far out, for in fact the true morning rising of the middle star in Orion's belt took place at Rome in Ovid's time only five days earlier, on June 21; the apparent morning rising did not take place till July 13.³ In saying (lines 789-790) that the summer solstice would fall on June 26 the poet differed from good Roman authorities who, as we have seen,⁴ placed the summer solstice more correctly on June 24. Hence the present remark of the bard would have been placed with greater propriety in the mouth of the tipsy reveller, whose conceptions of astronomical time would naturally be hazy. On the other hand Pliny was completely wrong in dating the rising of Orion on March 9.⁵

VI. 791. *Next morn the Lares were given a sanctuary on the spot where many a wreath is twined by deft hands.*—The temple of the Lares here mentioned by Ovid seems to have been the only public one which these deities possessed in Rome. It stood at the highest point of the Sacred Way near

¹ I have developed this theme more fully in *The Golden Bough*, Part I. *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. ii. chapter xviii. "The Succession to the Kingdom in ancient Latium", pp. 266-323.

² See above, pp. 331 sq.

³ Ideler, "Über den astronomischen Theil der Fasti des Ovid," *Abhandlungen der histor.-philolog. Klasse der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, aus den Jahren 1822 und 1823* (Berlin, 1825), pp. 162 sq.

⁴ Above, p. 333.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 237.

the site of the existing arch of Titus.¹ It was restored by Augustus, as we know from the Emperor's own record of his deeds, in which he mentions the situation of the temple at the head of the Sacred Way.² Near it was a shrine of the curious goddess Orbona, the personification of bereavement.³ Tacitus mentions a shrine (*sacellum*) of the Lares which stood on the boundary (*pomerium*) of the ancient Palatine city of Romulus; ⁴ but this shrine was probably distinct from the temple (*aedes*) of the Lares situated at the head of the Sacred Way. Since in his description of the boundary of the ancient Palatine city Tacitus mentions only four points, namely the Great Altar of Hercules (*Ara Maxima*), the altar of Consus, the Old Assembly House (*Curiae Veteres*), and the shrine of the Lares,⁵ and the situations of three of these edifices are approximately known at the south-western, south-eastern, and north-eastern corners of the Palatine Hill, it seems probable that the remaining edifice, namely, the shrine of the Lares, stood on the boundary at the north-western corner of the hill, about the point where the New Way (*Nova Via*) bent round sharply to the south-west.⁶

At the foot of the Palatine Hill, on the side of the Forum, a pedestal has been found inscribed with a dedication to the Public Lares by Augustus as Pontifex Maximus; the inscription records that the expense of the offering was defrayed from the collection of small coins (" *ex stipe* ") which the people had presented to the Emperor on the first of January in the consulship of C. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Passienus Rufus, that is, in the year 4 B.C.⁷ It has sometimes been supposed that this inscription refers to an offering made by Augustus to the Lares in their temple at the head of the Sacred Way; but more probably it refers to an offering made by the Emperor to the Lares of the Crossways (*Lares Compitales*), whose

¹ Solinus, i. 23.

² *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 7, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 26 ed. Diehl⁴.

³ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 25. 63; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 16.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 24.

⁶ O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*², pp. 32 sq., 161; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, p. 22 n.⁶⁰; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 36 sq., 130 sq.

⁷ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 99.

worship was specially favoured by Augustus.¹ We know from Suetonius that the offerings of small coins which the people annually made to Augustus on the Capitol on the first of January were used by him to purchase costly images of the gods, which he distributed among the various parishes (*vicatim*) of the city.² The inscribed pedestal in question probably supported one or more of these images. Two similar inscriptions have been found at Rome; they record dedications by Augustus to Mercury and Vulcan respectively out of the freewill offerings which the people made to him on the first of January.³

The words of Ovid in the present passage appear to imply that there was a flower market near the temple of the Lares at the head of the Sacred Way.

We do not know when the temple of the Lares was founded, but it is generally supposed to have been very ancient. The first year in which mention is made of it appears to be 106 B.C., when a flame was seen to play about the roof of the temple without doing any damage.⁴ Ovid assigns June 27 as the day of its dedication. But Wissowa holds that this was the day when the temple as restored by Augustus was dedicated, and that the original dedication took place on May 1, the date assigned by Ovid to the dedication of the altar of the Guardian Lares (*Lares Praestites*).⁵ According to Wissowa, the altar of the Guardian Lares is not to be separated from the temple of the Lares at the head of the Sacred Way; and the antique images of the Lares, which Ovid declares to have disappeared in the course of ages,⁶ were preserved in the restored temple, where the poet might have seen them if he had taken the trouble to enter the sacred edifice.⁷ But the evidence in favour of this complicated hypothesis is slender.

Wissowa would also identify the shrine (*sacellum*) of the Lares mentioned by Tacitus with the temple (*aedes*) of the

¹ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 31. 4.

² Suetonius, *Augustus*, 57. 1.

³ H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Nos. 92, 93. Compare G. Wissowa, s.v. "Lares", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1881.

⁴ Julius Obsequens, *Prodig.* 41 (101), p. 164 ed. Rossbach.

⁵ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 129 sq.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 129-132.

⁷ G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 277-279; *id.*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², pp. 277-279.

Lares at the head of the Sacred Way.¹ But this view is open to at least two objections. In the first place, a *sacellum* was not a temple but merely a small shrine with an altar and open to the sky.² In the second place, if we identify the shrine with the temple of the Lares, two out of the four landmarks which Tacitus mentions to indicate the circuit of the ancient city on the Palatine, namely, the Old Assembly House (*Curiae Veteres*) and the shrine of the Lares, must have stood near each other at the north-eastern corner of the Palatine, and there would be nothing to indicate the circuit at the north-western corner of the hill, which seems improbable.

VI. 793. At the same time was built the temple of Jupiter Stator.—Tradition ran that when the Sabines had made themselves masters of the Capitol, and the Romans held the Palatine, the forces of the two hostile peoples met and fought in the valley which was afterwards occupied by the Forum. In this battle the Sabines had at first the better of it, and drove the Romans back and uphill till they had pushed them nearly to the old gate of the Palatine at the north-eastern corner of the hill, the gate called the Mugonian Gate (*Porta Mugonia*). There Romulus prayed Jupiter to stay the flight of the Romans, and vowed that if the deity granted his prayer he would build a temple to Jupiter Stator, that is, to Jupiter the Stayer, to serve as a monument to posterity of the divine deliverance. The god heard his prayer, the flight was stayed, and afterwards, though perhaps not till long afterwards, a temple of Jupiter Stator was built on the spot.³ The situation of the temple is described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as “beside the Mugonian Gate, which leads from the Sacred Way to the Palatine”;⁴ and Plutarch says that the temple was “situated at the beginning of the Sacred Way, as you go up to the Palatine”.⁵ The indications of Ovid agree with the statements of these authors. In dispatching

¹ G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 279.

² Aulus Gellius, vii. (vi.) 12. 5, “*Sacellum est, inquit, locus parvus deo sacratus cum ara*”; Festus, s.v. “*Sacella*”, pp. 422, 423 ed. Lindsay, “*Sacella dicuntur loca dis sacrata sine tecto*”. The definition of *sacellum* quoted by Gellius is from the second book of the treatise *De religionibus*, by C. Trebatius.

³ Livy, i. 12; Plutarch, *Romulus*, 18; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 3; Florus, i. 1. 13; Aurelius Victor, *De viris illustribus*, 2. 8.

⁴ Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* ii. 50. 3.

⁵ Plutarch, *Cicero*, 16. 3.

a new book of poems from his place of exile on the Black Sea, he imagines the volume arriving in Rome and finding its way through the streets and public places, which the poet knew so well, to the palace of Augustus on the Palatine. He follows it fondly in fancy as it passes through the Forum, along the Sacred Way, past the temple of Vesta, and then turning to the right reaches the gate of the Palatine and the temple of Jupiter Stator.¹ Hence we may conclude that the temple stood at the highest point of the Sacred Way, near the triumphal arch of Titus. Both the Tarquins lived near the temple; the porch of the house of Tarquin the Proud was exactly opposite it.²

Whether Romulus kept his vow by building the temple which he had promised is uncertain; indeed, it appears certain that he did not, for Livy, in recording the erection in 294 B.C. of a temple to Jupiter Stator, which the consul, M. Atilius Regulus, had vowed in the heat of a battle with the Samnites, expressly declares that Romulus had done no more than consecrate a place for the temple, and that therefore, after the victory over the Samnites, the Senate made it a matter of conscience to erect at last the temple which had been twice solemnly vowed.³ In his consulship Cicero summoned the Senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter Stator, and there he delivered his first speech against Catiline. The cowed conspirator himself listened to the thundering denunciation, but did not dare to reply: the senators shrank from him as from a leper: none saluted him, and the benches near where he took his seat were left empty.⁴

Once, in the year 59 B.C., when Julius Caesar, as consul, was addressing a crowd in the Forum, his colleague and adversary, L. Bibulus, endeavoured to interrupt him: the consequence was a tumult in which daggers were drawn and blows exchanged: Bibulus and his lictors were hustled, and it was not without difficulty that his friends silenced him and hurried him for safety into the temple of Jupiter Stator.⁵ In contrast to these turbulent scenes the temple had been chosen

¹ Ovid, *Tristia*, iii. 1. 27-32.

² Livy, i. 41. 4; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 29; compare Solinus, i. 24.

³ Livy, x. 36. 11, x. 37. 15-16.

⁴ Cicero, *In Catalinam*, i. 13. 33, ii. 6. 11; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 16.

⁵ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2. 11.

in 207 B.C. as the place where seven and twenty maidens were to learn a hymn, composed by the poet Livius Andronicus, which they were to chant as they went in procession through the city. For it was the time of the Second Punic War : Hannibal was still marching up and down Italy unconquered : his brother Hasdrubal was about to cross the Alps with a great army to join him : the minds of men were disquieted by thick-coming rumours of direful prodigies ; and in these dark days the pontiffs thought that nothing was more likely to appease the gods and relieve the fears of the people than such a procession of singing maidens. Why the temple of Jupiter Stator was specially selected for the practice of psalm-singing we cannot say ; perhaps the priests imagined that the god who had more than once arrested the flight of Roman armies might be moved by the sweet voices of the virgin choir to rally yet again the beaten troops of the Republic and lead them to victory. If such was their notion, it seemed as if the deity himself frowned upon it. For even while the maidens were singing in the temple, the sky lowered, the thunder pealed, and the lightning flashed, striking the temple of Queen Juno on the Aventine. This fresh prodigy was expiated by fresh sacrifices and a fresh procession.¹

On a bas-relief, known as the relief of the Haterii, which is now in the Lateran Museum, there are sculptured representations of various buildings at the upper end of the Sacred Way, including the triumphal arch of Titus, the temple of Jupiter Stator, and the Colosseum. The arch of Titus is identified by means of an inscription over the arch which declares that it stood "on the highest point of the Sacred Way", a description which can only apply to the arch of Titus. Beside the arch is seen the portico of a temple which is identified as that of Jupiter by means of a sitting image of Jupiter, with thunderbolt and sceptre. From this we learn that the temple was hexastyle, that is, that it had six columns in front.²

¹ Livy, xxvii. 37. As to the procession see above, p. 78.

² W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*², ii. 32 sq., No. 1193 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 6 sq., with fig. 2 ; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 201, fig. 76 ; Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², p. 249, fig. 150.

Just to the east of the arch of Titus are some ruins which probably formed part of the temple of Jupiter Stator. They consist of a large rectangular platform built of concrete, on which lie some enormous blocks of peperino and travertine. On this foundation stood a mediaeval tower (*turris Cartularia*) which served as a refuge for the popes in the troubled times of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some walls of tufa have also been excavated close to the north-eastern side of the arch of Titus, and beneath its foundations. It may be that these tufa walls belonged to the original temple of Jupiter Stator, while the platform supported the later temple built or restored by Augustus.¹

Another temple of Jupiter Stator was built by Quintus Caccilius Metellus to commemorate his victory over the false Philip, the pretender to the throne of Macedonia. The temple, along with one of Juno, was built wholly of marble and was surrounded by a splendid colonnade, which was at first known as the colonnade of Metellus, but was afterwards rebuilt by Augustus and renamed the colonnade of Octavia. The colonnade with its two temples was situated close to the Flaminian Circus and therefore in a quarter of the city far distant from that in which the other temple of Jupiter Stator stood at the head of the Sacred Way.² Both the temple of Jupiter Stator and the temple of Juno in the colonnade of Metellus (Octavia) are represented on the ancient Marble Plan of Rome, from which it appears that both temples had six columns in front, and that the temple of Jupiter had ten columns on each side. The exact site of each of these temples is known, that of Jupiter being mainly beneath the church of S. Maria in Campitelli. The ruins of both temples, consisting chiefly of substructions and walls of travertine and *opus reticulatum*, together with fragments of marble columns and entablatures, are for the most part concealed by modern

¹ Ch. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum*, translated by J. B. Carter², pp. 250-252; H. Thédenat, *Le Forum Romain*³, pp. 353 sq.; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*⁴, p. 313.

² Varro, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 4. 2; Velleius Paterculus, i. 11; Vitruvius, iii. 2. 5; *C.I.L.* i.³ pp. 252, 339; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 35, 42, 43; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 199 sqq.; R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, pp. 469 sqq.; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*⁵, pp. 217 sq.; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 538 sqq.

houses in the Via di S. Angelo in Pescheria.¹ It is said that when these two temples were building, the porters carried the image of Jupiter by mistake into the temple of Juno, and the image of Juno into the temple of Jupiter. Religious scruples prevented the mistake from being rectified ; so ever after Jupiter remained in a temple which was adorned with paintings and furniture in a feminine style, while Juno presided over a temple decorated for the reception of a male deity.²

VI. 796. When as many days of the month remain as the Fates have names, a temple was dedicated to thee, Quirinus, god of the striped gown.—In the Venusian calendar under the date June 29 there is a note “ to Quirinus on the (Quirinal) Hill ”.³ According to our mode of reckoning, we should call June 29 the second day before July 1, but Ovid, following the inclusive mode of Roman reckoning, counted it the third ; hence his allusion to the three Fates. He has already told us that a temple was dedicated to Quirinus on February 17.⁴ At first sight we might naturally infer that there were two temples of Quirinus, one dedicated on February 17 and the other on June 29. But as there appears to have been only one temple of the god, which was dedicated by the consul L. Papirius Cursor in 293 B.C.,⁵ and completely rebuilt and dedicated afresh by Augustus in 16 B.C.,⁶ it is probable that one of the two dedications mentioned by Ovid was the original dedication by L. Papirius Cursor, and that the other was the later dedication by Augustus. On this point scholars are generally agreed, but they differ as to which of the dates was that of the first and which that of the second dedication. Mommsen held that the temple was originally dedicated by L. Papirius Cursor on February 17 and dedicated afresh by Augustus on June 29. Wissowa would reverse this conclusion, arguing that the temple was originally dedicated by L. Papirius Cursor on June 29 and dedicated afresh by Augustus on February 17. The question is not important and demonstration one way or the other is hardly possible. But the

¹ S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², p. 349.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 43.

³ *C.I.L.* i.² pp. 221, 320.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 511, with the note.

⁵ Livy, x. 46. 7.

⁶ Dio Cassius, liv. 19. 4 ; *Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 5, p. 91 ed. Hardy, p. 24 ed. Diehl⁴.

arguments of Mommsen carry weight. He points out, first, that February 17 was the date of the god's ancient festival, the Quirinalia, and therefore a most suitable day for the original dedication of his temple; and, second, that June 29 was one of the new days added to the calendar by Julius Caesar and therefore a most unlikely, if not impossible, day for the dedication of a temple in 293 B.C., whereas it might perfectly well be the day of the dedication of a temple in 16 B.C., when the reformed Julian calendar was in operation. These arguments appear decisive. We may, therefore, conclude that the date mentioned by Ovid in the present passage (June 29) was the day when the rebuilt temple was dedicated by Augustus.¹

VI. 789. Tell me, Pierides, who associated you with him to whom his stepmother was forced to yield reluctantly.—The Pierides are the Muses,² who were said to have been born in Pieria, a district or mountain of Thrace: ³ he who got the better of his stepmother is Hercules: his stepmother is Juno (Hera); and Ovid is asking in poetical language, who gave Hercules a place in the temple of the Muses? From Clio's, or rather Ovid's, answer we might naturally infer that the temple was built by L. Marcius Philippus, and the inference is supported by the express statement of Suetonius that Marcius built the temple of Hercules of the Muses in the time of Augustus.⁴ Nevertheless we learn from other sources that the temple of Hercules of the Muses (for such was the correct title of the temple) was built by M. Fulvius Nobilior in the early part of the second century B.C. The fullest account of the foundation of the temple runs as follows: "The temple of Hercules of the Muses in the Flaminian Circus was built by Fulvius Nobilior from the fines he exacted as censor (*ex pecunia censoria*). He was led to do

¹ Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 310; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 144 sqq., 268 sqq. Mommsen's view is accepted by O. Richter (*Topographie der Stadt Rom*², pp. 286 sq.); Wissowa's view is accepted by Ch. Huelsen (H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 407 sq.).

² Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 269, *Amores*, i. 1. 6; Horace, *Odes*, iv. 8. 20; Manilius, iii. 3; Juvenal, iv. 36; Statius, *Silv.* iii. 1. 67; Martial, x. 58. 6, xii. 68. 4.

³ Hesiod, *Theog.* 51 sq. As to Pieria see Strabo; x. 3. 17, p. 471; Pausanias, ix. 30. 7, x. 13. 5. Pausanias calls it a mountain.

⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29. 5.

so not only by his own literary taste and his friendship for a great poet (Ennius), but because when he was in command in Greece he had heard that Hercules was Musagetes, that is, companion and leader of the Muses, and he was the first to dedicate nine statues of the Camenae (Muses), which he had brought from the city of Ambracia, under the guardianship of the strongest deity, because in truth they should be helped and adorned by mutual assistance and rewards, the peace of the Muses enjoying the protection of Hercules, and the valour of Hercules enjoying the voice of the Muses."¹ Here we are told that Fulvius built the temple from fines exacted in his censorship, which fell in 179 B.C. But though Livy gives a list of many buildings erected by Fulvius and his colleague, M. Aemilius Lepidus, in their censorship,² the temple of Hercules of the Muses is not among them. It seems more probable that Fulvius built the temple soon after the triumph which he celebrated in 187 B.C. for his victories over the Aetolians. For in his consulship (189 B.C.) he had taken Ambracia, the old capital of King Pyrrhus, and carried off a vast quantity of the works of art, both statues and paintings, with which the city was adorned beyond any other in that part of Greece. At his triumph, to say nothing of great treasure of gold and silver, no less than seven hundred and eighty-five bronze statues and two hundred and thirty marble statues were carried in procession before his chariot.³ Among the statues which Fulvius brought to Rome from Ambracia were terra cotta images of the Muses by the great painter Zeuxis.⁴ These no doubt the conqueror placed in the temple which he built to Hercules of the Muses. Cicero

Eumenius, *Oratio pro Scholis restaurandis*, p. 116 (appended to the edition of Pliny's letters with the commentary of J. Maria Catinaeus, published by P. Stephanus, 1600), "*Aedem Herculis musarum in Circo Flaminius Fulvius ille Nobilior ex pecunia Censoria fecit, non id modo secutus, quod ipse litteris et summa (sic) poetae amicitia duceretur, sed quod in Graecia olim cum esset Imperator acceperat Herculem Musagetem esse comitem ducemque Musarum. Idemque primus novem signa, hoc est, omnium Camoenarum, ex Ambraciensi oppido translata sub tutela fortissimi Numinis consecravit, (ut res est) quia mutuis operibus et praemiis iuvare ornarique deberent, Musarum quies defensione Herculis, et virtus Herculis voce Musarum*". In this passage, for *summa* we should probably read *summi* with R. Peter (*s.v.* "Hercules", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 2970). The reference is to the general's friend, the poet Ennius.

¹ Livy, xl. 51.

² Livy, xxxviii. 9. 13 sq., xxxix. 5. 13-15.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 66.

tells us that this soldier of literary and artistic tastes was accompanied on his Aetolian campaign by the poet Ennius, and that he did not hesitate to dedicate the spoils of war to the Muses.¹ More than that, Fulvius was the first Roman to compose a work on the calendar, which is cited as an authority by Varro,² Censorinus,³ and Macrobius⁴; and of this work he deposited a copy in his temple of Hercules of the Muses.⁵ According to Servius, or rather his interpolator, Numa had made a small bronze shrine for the Muses. This was afterwards struck by lightning and placed in the temple of Honour and Virtue. Finally, Fulvius Nobilior transferred it to a temple of Hercules, which was hence known as the temple of Hercules and the Muses.⁶ This would imply that the proper name of the temple was the temple of Hercules and the Muses. But the other designation, the temple of Hercules of the Muses, is supported by the evidence of Eumenius⁷ and Macrobius,⁸ and it is established by the evidence of coins; for about 64 B.C. Q. Pomponius Musa issued coins (*denarii*) on the obverse of which is a figure of Hercules standing and holding a lyre, with the legend HERCULES MUSARUM, that is, "Hercules of the Muses". As if to obviate any doubt as to his identity the hero's club is placed at his side. On the reverse of other coins (*denarii*) issued by him, the same magistrate, Q. Pomponius Musa, exhibits the types of the nine Muses, each with her appropriate attributes on a separate coin.⁹ It is obvious that Musa chose these types with a punning reference to his own name, and it is highly probable that the idea of thus combining Hercules with the Muses was suggested to him by the association of the hero with the Muses in the temple. If that was so, we may safely assume that the types both of Hercules and of the Muses on the coins are copies of the images of these divinities in the temple. To these images, and especially to the image of Hercules playing the lyre, Ovid plainly alludes

¹ Cicero, *Pro Archia poeta*, 11. 27.

² Varro, *De lingua Latina*, vi. 33.

³ Censorinus, *De die natali*, xx. 4, and xxii. 9.

⁴ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16, i. 13. 21.

⁵ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16. Compare Th. Mommsen, in *C.I.L.* i.² p. 285.

⁶ Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 8.

⁷ Cited above, p. 345.

⁸ Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 16.

⁹ E. Babelon *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 360-365.

in the closing lines of his poem, where he says that Alcides (Hercules) twanged his lyre to signify his assent to the pronouncement of Clio and her sister Muses.¹

Ovid alludes more playfully to the temple in another passage of his works. Describing the modes in which Roman ladies repaired the ravages of time by the resources of art, he gives us to understand that there were barbers' shops near the temple where flowing wigs were on sale for all who needed them to cover their bald pates or silvery locks; and he tells us that ladies in the autumn of life were not ashamed to buy other people's hair and to pass it off as their own (which indeed it was by purchase) under the very eyes of Hercules and the virgin choir.² An altar of Hercules and the Muses, which Plutarch mentions, may have stood in the temple.³

When L. Marcius Philippus restored the temple in the time of Augustus, he appears to have enriched it with a colonnade which was named after him the colonnade of Philip (*Porticus Philippi*). It contained three pictures by a painter named Antiphilus; they represented Father Liber, Alexander the Great in his boyhood, and Hippolytus terrified by the bull.⁴ Martial mentions the colonnade in an epigram addressed to a man whose scanty hair was distributed in so eccentric a fashion over his head that it presented the appearance of three heads instead of one. The poet warns him not to go near the colonnade of Philip lest Hercules should mistake him for Geryon and treat him as he had treated that three-headed monster.⁵ Perhaps Martial had smilingly watched the poor gentleman gazing wistfully at the wigs in a barber's window beside the temple, and then gone home to his garret to pen the epigram.

The situation of the temple of Hercules of the Muses is known with approximate accuracy from the ancient Marble Plan of the city, which shows that the temple stood near the south side of the Flaminian Circus, close beside the colonnade of Octavia, from which it was only separated by a street. On

¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 811 sq. As to the type of Hercules with the lyre see further Haug, s.v. "Hercules", in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, viii. 1, coll. 576 sq.

² Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 161-169.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 114.

³ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 59.

⁵ Martial, v. 49.

the Plan both the colonnade of Octavia and the temple are identified by inscriptions ; the title of the temple is given as AEDIS HERCULIS MUSAR(UM), which, combined with the evidence of the coins, proves that the edifice was properly called the temple of Hercules of the Muses. Some large walls built of blocks of peperino, which were laid bare in the foundations of a house in the Piazza Mattei, between the Via S. Ambrogio and the Via dei Falegnami, are thought to have formed part of the temple or its colonnade.¹ Near the site of the ancient temple, in the Via S. Ambrogio, there was found in 1867 a pedestal of peperino with an inscription recording that M. Folvius (*sic*) Nobilior in his consulship captured Ambracia. The pedestal probably supported one of the many statues which the general carried off from Ambracia and placed in the temple of Hercules of the Muses. Possibly one of the images of the Muses stood upon it.²

VI. 801. that famous Philip from whom the chaste Marcia is descended.—This Marcia was the wife of P. Fabius Maximus, but she seems to have been the unwilling and remorseful cause of his death by betraying a secret of State which Augustus, a few months before his own end, had confided to her husband.³ From the present passage we gather that Marcia was a daughter of the Marcius Philippus who restored the temple of Hercules of the Muses. Her husband, Fabius Maximus, was a friend of Ovid, and the exiled poet addressed to him a letter begging him to procure for him some mitigation of his sentence. In this letter he reminds Fabius that he (Ovid) had been present at his friend's wedding and had composed an Epithalamium in honour of the occasion ; he also mentions that his own wife, a member of the great Fabian house, had been known to and loved from her youth by Marcia, the wife of Fabius.⁴ We may conjecture that the

¹ R. Peter, *s.v.* "Hercules", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 2975 sq. ; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, i. 3, bearbeitet von Ch. Huelsen, pp. 544 sq. ; J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. 206 ; O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*³, p. 219 ; S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*², pp. 347 sq.

² H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, No. 16 ; R. Peter, *s.v.* "Hercules", in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 2976.

³ Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 5.

⁴ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 127-142, compare *id.* iii. 1. 75-78.

high praise bestowed on Marcia in the present passage was designed to serve the same purpose as the letter to her husband, namely, to induce him to solicit from Augustus, if not a full pardon for the banished poet, at least a change to some happier climate and less dreary shore. As we know from another source¹ that Marcia was a full cousin of Augustus, we are probably doing the poet no injustice in supposing that the high compliments which he here pays the lady were not entirely disinterested, but that in inditing them the poet hoped to incite his flattered patroness to second her husband's efforts on behalf of the distressed author by a personal appeal to her imperial relative. If that was so, the concluding passage of the poem was written in exile. The letter to Marcia's husband was composed, Ovid tells us, in the fourth winter of his banishment,² which, allowing for the Roman mode of reckoning, may have been the winter of A.D. 11-12. This, we may suppose, was about the time when the poet indited the last lines of the *Fasti*.

VI. 803. **Marcia, who derives her name from sacrificial Ancus.**—The Marcian family, of which Marcia was a member, claimed to be descended from King Ancus Marcius; hence they added the surname of Rex, that is, King, to their family name. This claim was put forward by Julius Caesar in the funeral oration which he delivered from the rostra in praise of his dead aunt Julia. He declared that the deceased lady traced her lineage through her father to the gods and through her mother to kings; for her father was a Julius, and all the Julii were descended from Venus; and her mother was a Marcia, and all the Marcii were Kings (*Reges*), being descended from King Ancus Marcius.³ Indeed, the Marcii boasted that the blood of two kings flowed in their veins; for their ancestor Ancus Marcius was himself a grandson of Numa, his mother being a daughter of that famous king.⁴ One of the Marcian family, a namesake of Marcius Philippus, openly proclaimed his royal lineage by putting the head of

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2629. See below, p. 351.

² Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 2. 26.

³ Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, 6. 1. Compare Plutarch, *Numa*, 21. 2, according to whom it was the Mamercii who took the surname of King (*Reges*), being descended from Mamercus, son of Numa.

⁴ Livy, i. 32. 1.

Ancus Marcius, with the legend ANCUS, on the obverse of his coins. This was about 60 B.C.¹

In applying the epithet "sacrificial" to Ancus Marcius the poet may have had in mind a passage of Livy, in which that historian relates how Ancus Marcius was no sooner elected to the throne than, emulous of the glory of his pious grandfather Numa, and deploring the neglect of religion which had marred the reign of his warlike predecessor Tullus Hostilius, he set himself, as his first and most important duty, to carry out the public observances of religion as they had been instituted by Numa; and with that object he ordered the pontiff to compose a digest of these institutions, based on an examination of the king's papers, and to publish it on tablets for all to read.²

VI. 809. The mother's sister of Caesar was once married to that Philip.—By Caesar the poet here, as elsewhere, means Augustus. This mode of referring to the reigning emperor would seem to have become habitual at the time when Ovid wrote the *Fasti*.³ But Ovid's statement that the aunt (mother's sister) of Augustus married Marcius Philippus creates a difficulty; for according to other good authorities Marcius Philippus married, not the aunt but the mother of Augustus, so that he was the stepfather of Augustus. The father of Augustus was C. Octavius and his mother was Atia, daughter of M. Atius Balbus by Julia, sister of Julius Caesar.⁴ After the death of her first husband Atia appears to have married Marcius Philippus; certainly both Appian and Plutarch speak of him definitely as her husband.⁵ Hence Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius speak correctly of Marcius Philippus as the stepfather (*vitricus*) of Augustus.⁶ To reconcile the testimony of these authorities with the explicit

¹ E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, ii. 196 sq.

² Livy, i. 32. 1-2.

³ Compare *Fasti*, ii. 15, 139, 141, 637, iii. 710, iv. 20, v. 588, vi. 455, 646, 763.

⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus*, 3 and 4; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 44; Velleius Paterculus, ii. 59.

⁵ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 2. 10, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ (of Augustus) καὶ Φίλιππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτήν; Plutarch, *Cicero*, 44. 1, Φίλιππος ὁ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νέου Καίσαρος (Augustus) εἶχων.

⁶ Velleius Paterculus, ii. 59. 2, "Educatum (Augustus) apud Philippum vitricum"; *id.* ii. 60, "Non placebat Atiae matri Philippoque vitrico"; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 8. 2, "Hereditatem adiit (Augustus), dubitante matre, vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente".

statement of Ovid that the wife of Marcius Philippus was not the mother but the maternal aunt (mother's sister) of Augustus, it has been supposed that Atia, the mother of Augustus, had a younger sister, also called Atia, and that on the death of the first Atia the widower consoled himself by marrying his deceased wife's sister, the younger Atia, who was accordingly the maternal aunt (mother's sister) of Augustus. Thus Ovid would be right in saying that Marcius Philippus had married the maternal aunt (mother's sister) of Augustus, and their daughter Marcia would be a full cousin of Augustus, since she and he were the children of sisters. The theory is confirmed by an inscription found at Paphos in Cyprus, which contains a dedication to this Marcia, the friend and patroness of Ovid. It runs to this effect: "To Marcia, daughter of Philippus, and cousin of the god Caesar Augustus, wife of Paulus Fabius Maximus, the Senate and People of Paphos Augusta (has decreed this honour)".¹ There is no doubt that this Marcia is Ovid's Marcia, for we know from him that her husband was Paulus Fabius Maximus, himself the patron and friend of Ovid.² From the inscription we learn that Marcia was a cousin of Augustus: this renders it possible that their mothers were sisters and fits in perfectly with the hypothesis that the mother of Marcia was Atia, a younger sister of Atia, the mother of Augustus. So far as the inscription can be dated, the date accords well with the theory, for it cannot be earlier than 15 B.C. In that year the city of Paphos, which had suffered from an earthquake and had been relieved by the bounty of Augustus, received from the Emperor permission to add the title Augusta to its name.³ We may suppose that Paulus Fabius Maximus and his wife Marcia were the ministers of the Imperial bounty on this occasion, and that the city testified its gratitude to them by honorary decrees, of which the one in honour of Marcia has been preserved in the inscription. Thus the hypothesis of a younger Atia, the mother of Marcia,

¹ Letronne, in *Journal des Savants* (Paris, 1827), pp. 173 sq.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2629 (vol. ii. pp. 441 sq.), *Μαρκία Φιλίππου θυγατρί, ἀνεψιᾷ Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναικὶ Παύλου Φαβίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος*.

² Ovid, *Epist. ex Ponto*, i. 2. 129 sqq., iii. 1. 75-78, iii. 3. 1 sq., 95 sqq.

³ Dio Cassius, liv. 23. 7.

In this table it should be clearly understood that the younger L. Marcivs Philippus and the younger Atia are both more or less hypothetical personages interpolated to explain the relationships alluded to by Ovid in the present passage. On the hypothesis that there were two Marcii Philippi, father and son, and two Atias, sisters, it will follow that the Philippus of verse 801 is the son, and that he was the father of Marcia, though Ovid expresses her descent from him in a vague form ("*unde trahit Marcia casta genus*") which would equally consist with his being her grandfather, Marcivs Philippus the elder. Further, it will follow that the Marcivs Philippus who restored the temple of Hercules of the Muses was not, as is usually supposed, the stepfather of Augustus, but his son Marcivs Philippus, the father of Marcia.

Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ii. 2, col. 2258. In quoting the Greek inscription cited above (p. 351) Mr. Klebs has strangely substituted the name of Marcia's mother (Atia) for the name of the lady herself, thus involving the whole tangle of relationships in inextricable confusion.

END OF VOL. IV

